

THE DEVELOPMENT OF

Z Y O O R U R I

up to 1686

by

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ABSTRACT

Zyooruri is the puppet drama of Japan and takes its name from Zyooruri, the heroine of the tale which was the original piece recited by the chanters who, in about 1610, made the vocal contribution to the first full puppet theatre, and who derived ultimately from the biwa players who recited 'Heike monogatari'. There had been puppets in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but they are unlikely to have been the ancestors of those of the seventeenth century, which probably came from China.

The first repertory was derived from previously-existing works except for the buddhistic 'Amida no Munewari', the various subsequent versions of which illustrate the changing tastes of the audiences.

The puppets during the 'old-zyooruri' period were generally of a type which were held high by the manipulator who worked them from below. This method involved a specialised stage architecture. Mechanical and string puppets were also used, particularly for special effects. Theatre architecture, apart from the stage, was not different from that of the kabuki. The surviving puppet drama of the island of Sado is still very close to old zyooruri.

Kyoto was the home of the earliest performances, but the centre moved to Edo in the 1620's. The chanter Satuma Zyoon started there a tendency towards plays of a violent nature and these became popular in the 1650's, under

the leadership of Sakurai Tanba no syoozyoo, who performed plays showing the adventures of Kinpira, a warrior of superhuman valour and skill. This vogue spread to the whole of Japan, but was gradually replaced in the Kyooto/Oosaka region by plays of more literary and developed style. Uzi Kaga no zyoo reformed puppet drama with the noo as model and foreshadowed the end of 'old zyooruri' and the arrival of 'new zyooruri' in 1686.

PREFACE

The period of full development of the puppet drama in Japan may be said to begin on the fourth day of the second month of the year 1686, when the first 'new zyooruri', 'Syusse Kagekiyo', written by the great Tikamatu Monzaemon for the famous chanter Takemoto Gidayuu was performed. At this time, however, the puppet drama was at least eighty years old, and it is the object of this thesis to study its origins and its development during this period, known as the period of 'old zyooruri'.

The method adopted will be attempt to write the story of old zyooruri relying on such primary evidence, in the form of diaries and other contemporary accounts, on texts of plays, and on such illustrations as still exist. There will also be an attempt to make a critical study of Japanese work on the subject.

The first section will deal with the origin of the word zyooruri, the development of the style of recitation used, and the history of Japanese puppets. Next, there will be a reconstruction of the repertory of plays in the first years, and one of the plays included therein will be translated and followed in its changes as it was performed over the years. The third section will study the form of the puppets and theatre used in the plays, and, finally, there will be an account of the work of the various chanters, with a typical play translated.

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A. The origins of zyooruri

(1) The word zyooruri.

A common name for the puppet theatre in Japan is ningyoo-zyooruri - 'doll zyooruri'- and that of the period which is under consideration in this thesis is often called ko-zyooruri - 'old zyooruri' - and it is also quite allowable to use the word zyooruri with the sense of puppet theatre. A discussion of why it came to have this meaning will be a useful first step in the consideration of the elements which came together to form the puppet theatre.

Zyooruri is the Japanese form of a word that probably originated in a buddhistic context. It is found as a name of the paradise of Baiṣajya-guru, the Medicine Master, known as the Healing Buddha both in the translation into Chinese of the Medicine Master Sūtra by Dharmagupta dated 615 AD, and in the later version by Hsüang-tsang in 650 AD. The relevant passages occur on pages 401 and 405 of the Taisyoo Tripitaka,¹ and the phrase used is 有世界名淨瑠璃 - 'There is a world called zyooruri'. This paradise is far in the east, as opposed to the western paradise of the Buddha Amithaba. Zyoo means 'pure'; ruri in present-day Japan often refers to lapis lazuli, but the word corresponding to ruri in the Sanskrit versions of the sūtra is vaidūrya (Dutt p.342; Pelliot p.33)¹, translated variously as 'beryl' and 'cat's

1. references throughout are given by a code (usually the author's name) followed by a page number. Full details will be found in a list at the end of the thesis.

eye' (the jewel). Ruri represents a borrowing into Chinese connected with this same Sanskrit word and its Pali equivalent veluriya, which is considered, in its turn, to be the origin of the word 'beryl', through the Greek. In Chinese, prior to the translation of the sūtra mentioned, (it is first found, in the form 流離, in the Ch'ien Han Shu, Ssu Pu Ts'ung) and also afterwards, in non-buddhistic contexts, it refers to 'certain varieties of rock-crystal and to certain vitreous products'. (Laufer p. 198 ; see also Daniels p. 46 and Master p. 304).

There are other close connections between the Medicine Master and ruri. One of his titles is rurikoo ('ruri light') and he made twelve vows, one of which was that, on attaining buddhahood, he would have a body like ruri 'inside and outside pure, without any stain, emitting a light brighter than that of the sun and moon, and illuminating the darkness for the living beings of the world, so that they may walk and work at their will' (Visser p. 534).

The worship of the Medicine Master, known in Japanese as Yakusi-rurikoo-nyorai, became very popular in Japan in the Nara period (645-781), and was particularly so in the Heian period (782-1183), prayers being offered to him to obtain cures from illness. A Zyooruri Temple was founded for his worship in the outskirts of Kyooto in 782, and two others honouring him which should be mentioned are the Inabadoo, sometimes called Inaba Yakusi, in Kyooto, founded in the late tenth century, and the Hooraiji, in Aiti prefecture,

founded in the early eighth century.

The most likely connection between this word and the puppet theatre is through the intermediary of the story of the short love-affair between Lady Zyooruri, the daughter of a rich man in Yahagi in Mikawa province (Aiti prefecture), and Minamoto Yositune, under his boyhood name of Usiwaka-maru. More details of this story will appear later, and it will be sufficient at this point to say that she was called Zyooruri because of a connection with the Medicine Master., namely that she was born as a result of prayers offered to that Buddha by her as yet childless parents.

There now follows a chronological sequence of contemporary references to this story. The earliest occurs in 1485, considerably later than the accounts of Yositune's deeds given in 'Heike-monogatari' and 'Gikeiki'. It is in a poem near the beginning of Book II of 'Baika muzinzoo' ('Inexhaustible store of plum-blossom') (ZG 12b p.817), a collection of verse with prose linking-material, all in Chinese, by Banri Syuuku. This part of the collection is in the form of a travel-diary and the poem in question tells how the author travelled from the castle of Kariya to Yahagi, of which place it is said that the rich man's son-in-law was one of the Minamoto clan. This particular stage of his journey is dated 10/9/1485¹. The reference here is

1. For convenience, dates will be expressed in this form, the first figure being the day and the second the month, expressed as in the contemporary calendar, not corrected.

clearly to Lady Zyooruri, the rich man's daughter, and Yositone, a notable member of the Minamoto clan, and it can be inferred that the story was known at the date mentioned.

The next reference is in a diary of Sootyoo ('Sootyoo syuki') (G 8 p.317), a famous teacher and composer of linked verse. An entry in the year 1527, the day and month of which are not precisely mentioned but which can be inferred to be early in the 4th month, indicates that during a journey the author stayed a night in the temple in Yahagi, and mentions that there is a relic (足跡 - possibly the tomb) of Lady Zyooruri there. There is no mention of the story, but there is the connection between the spot and Lady Zyooruri, and the fame of the latter which makes her remembered.

In a later diary of the same poet, 'Sootyoo nikki', an entry in the year 1531 (ZG 18b p.1265) describes how people enjoyed themselves on 15/8 and 13/9, at the time of the full moon; Sootyoo summoned a 'little blind performer' (ko-zatoo) and had him sing zyooruri. The phrase used, zyooruri o utawase, indicates that the word zyooruri is applied to a piece to be recited, or a type of recitation; it would be difficult to make it just seem to mean 'sing about Zyooruri', particularly as no title such as gozen (which is given in the 'syuki' entry) is attached to the name. Apart from this name there is no indication of what the subject of the zyooruri was, but it would not be unreasonable to take it that it was about the lady of the

same name. The fact that it was a recitation (and not merely a short song) is suggested by the fact that it was a zatoo who was to perform it. This term indicates one of several grades of blind performers whose main occupation was the reciting of 'Heike-monogatari'; their role in the growth of zyooruri will be referred to again (see p. 17).

In 1540 the haikai poet Arakida Moritake wrote a series of one thousand linked verses which is known as 'Moritake senku', and a group of three of these contains references to our story (ZG 17b p.1312). In the first there is mentioned a zatoo, in the second he is told to recite a zyooruri, and in the third the name Usiwaka is introduced in a play on words. It thus seems certain that the story he had to tell was that of Lady Zyooruri and her lover Yositune, not some other story recited in a style called zyooruri.

The last contemporary reference which assists in this aspect of the problem, prior to the establishment of the complete puppet theatre, occurs in an entry dated 25/7/1571 in the diary of the court noble Yamasina Tokitugu (in vol.IV of the Kokusyo kankookai edition), where there is an account of an entertainment, one part of which was a performance of zyooruri by zatoo, which was highly praised. The reference here is to a type of performance rather than to the subject of the story.

The above information may be summarised by saying that by 1485 there had arisen, perhaps locally in Mikawa province, a story that had not appeared in other accounts of Yositune's

life, telling of his love affair with the Lady Zyooruri, daughter of a rich man in Yahagi. In the first half of the sixteenth century professional blind reciters were performing, of which one at least, and perhaps the only one, for no other is mentioned, was this story. It would seem reasonable to infer that this type of recitation was called zyooruri because it had its origin in our story.

It will be necessary now to dispose of two theories connected with the origin of the use of the word Zyooruri that have had much influence on Japanese writers on the subject. There has been great interest in the question for some three hundred years, and much has been written about it, but since many critics have contented themselves with copying former writers, references here can be kept to a minimum.

The first theory makes an early appearance in 1678 in 'Sikidoo ookagami' (ZE 2 p.529), and to some extent it does not differ from what has already been put forward above. It holds that Lady Zyooruri gave her name to the type of recitation to which her story was the original material, but it adds to this that the author of the story was Ono no O-Zuu; more information about this lady was added as the years went by, a fairly full version of the legend appearing in 'Mukasi mukasi monogatari' (quoted in KBT 2 p.17):

'The origin of the story of Zyooruri was as follows: on one occasion Lord Nobunaga was ill; he was very depressed and unable to sleep. Three lady attendants never left him - Seigen Kootoo, Kakuto Kootoo and Ono

no O-Zuu; they never quitted his side by day or night. Apart from these a great number of other attendants waited upon him. Night and day they read to him stories of all kinds, but his depression was not lifted. Thereupon Seigen and Kakuto spoke together to their master: "Ono no O-Zuu is skilled in writing, and so, if she composed some interesting story and read it to you, it might relieve you". Thereat Nobunaga asked O-Zuu to do as they had suggested. She made all kinds of excuses, but as he repeated his request time and time again, there was nothing she could do but take up her writing-brush. She cast about in her mind what she should write about. In the end she composed a story about a lady called Zyooruri, the daughter of a rich man at the posting station at Yahagi in Mikawa province. She read it to her master and he found it particularly entertaining. All the servants, male and female, from Seigen and Kakuto down, listened with all their attention, and all were struck with admiration for it.....'

This was the accepted account during the great period of the puppet theatre in Japan and was not adversely criticised until the appearance in 1826 of Ryuutei Tanehiko's 'Kankon-siryoo' (NZ 9 p.34) in which he pointed out the existence of the references in 'Sootyoo nikki' and 'Moritake senku'. The point of his objection is that Nobunaga, of whom O-Zuu is alleged to be the attendant, was born in 1532, in the year after the entry in 'Sootyoo nikki' (Tanehiko was presumably unaware of the still earlier references). The attribution of this authorship to O-Zuu occurred probably between 1648 and 1678. The latter of these dates is that of the appearance of 'Sikidoo Ookagami', the former that of 'Yodarekake' - 'The Bib' (i.e. Collection of drivellings) - in which the origin of zyooruri is given as the story of Lady Zyooruri and Usiwaka, with no author mentioned (EZ 4 p.19). Many investigations have been made about O-Zuu, and she may or may

not have been a real person and had the great abilities she is often credited with, but an important reason for her acceptance as author was that she became to zyooruri what O-Kuni was to kabuki. O-Kuni, the girl from the Great Shrine of Izumo, whose dancing in Kyoto formed the beginning of the live popular theatre, was almost certainly a real person, though she was considerably glamourised into a sort of great foundress of the art. No doubt the supporters of zyooruri felt that something was lacking if their theatre could not look back to a similar ancestress, and were delighted to elevate O-Zuu into this position. Even after Tanehiko's disclosures, there was a great reluctance to dismiss her altogether and some writers of modern times cling nostalgically to her, but his objection seems to have disposed of her as far as this thesis is concerned.

Takano Tatumyuki was one of the reluctant ones, and he would have her a reviser of the story, perhaps adapting it to make it suitable for recitation. He also is responsible for another theory of the reason why zyooruri is so called (Takano K p.609). He made use of a pamphlet entitled 'Sarugutuwa' - 'The Gag' - printed in 1658 or shortly after, of unknown authorship. No reprint has been found. At this time in Kyoto it seems there was a dispute between the supporters of two schools of noo acting, the Kanze and Kita. The title of the pamphlet not only has the meaning of 'gag', but its first part, saru, - 'monkey' - is also the

first part of the word sarugaku, a form of entertainment from which noo had in part derived, and also a term still used to designate noo of the Kanze school. 'Sarugutuwa' was meant, then, to gag the supporters of sarugaku, one of whom, in a manifesto entitled 'Busyoogoma' had said of zyooruri that it had no tradition behind it, and no rules of composition. It is in course of refuting this suggestion that the passage relating to 'Yasuda monogatari' occurs in 'Sarugutuwa', the gist of it being as follows:

'The origin of zyooruri was thus: in the Bun-an period (1444-8) there was a blind priest called Uda-kootoo. His blindness caused him great grief, and, since he was devoted to the service of the Medicine Master at the Inaba-doo, for several years he prayed to him most fervently to restore his sight. On one occasion he prayed continuously for three periods of seven days and nights. "I was born with all the obligations of a human being, but my eyes are dark. It is useless for me to go on living if I have not all my faculties. I beseech you, restore my sight." The Medicine Master took pity on him and at dawn on the third seventh day, he was able to see the full moon touching the edge of the mountains. Uda was overjoyed, and recited 'Yasuda monogatari', which he composed in twelve sections, based on the division into twelve sections of 'Heike monogatari', and the twelve generals of the Medicine Master. Because he is the ruler of the zyooruri paradise, he is called the Buddha of ruri light, and, in consequence, Uda called his piece zyooruri. Its basis was 'Heike monogatari' and, moreover, the music it was recited to was largely according to the Heike model.'

The difficulty about this is that 'Yasuda monogatari' is unknown apart from this reference, and in the absence of 'Sarugutuwa' also, there is no possibility of checking. The controversial nature of the pamphlet would in any case make it of doubtful credibility. Among modern writers

on zyooruri there is a certain amount of speculation about 'Yasuda monogatari', but most mention it without plucking up sufficient courage to dismiss it altogether. The possibility that it is one and the same with the Zyooruri story is rendered unlikely by the only information about the content of 'Yasuda monogatari' that 'Sarugutuwa' gives, namely that it is in honour of the Medicine Master of the Inaba-doo, which is not the case with the Zyooruri story.

All things considered, it seems most prudent to relegate the 'Sarugutuwa' theory to the same status as Ono no O-Zuu, that of an interesting but irrelevant episode in the historiography of zyooruri.

(2) The development of zyooruri reciting and its accompaniment.

Among the references quoted in the previous chapter on the word zyooruri there are three which mention zatoo - 'Sootyoo nikki', 'Moritake senku' and 'Tokitugu kyōoki' (the diary of Yamasina Tokitugu). From Heian times there had been biwa-hoosi, blind performers on the biwa - 'lute' - who had some of the attributes of Buddhist priests, and who, after the appearance of 'Heike monogatari' in the thirteenth century, had devoted themselves to reciting this story with biwa accompaniment. This they did not only in Kyōoto and in the precincts ^{of temples but} ~~of~~ also throughout the countryside. It seems that in the second half of the fourteenth century,

the biwa-hoosi formed an organisation, known as Toodooza, and became entitled to assume ranks which fitted in with those of the court. The ladder of the organisation had at its top a soo-kengyoo, and he was followed by kengyoo, kootoo and zatoo, this being the lowest rank. It will be remembered that Uda, whom 'Sarugutuwa' credited with the authorship of 'Yasuda monogatari', had the rank of kootoo. The term zatoo seems, in addition, to have been used generally for rather inferior performers such as were likely to be found in country districts, and also sometimes for blind biwa players wherever they were and whatever their status. By the fifteenth century zatoo were singing zyooruri, by which was probably implied the story of the lady of that name.

What is really not established is that the same performers as recited 'Heike monogatari' also performed zyooruri. From the seventeenth century onwards it was always accepted that this was so. The style of recitation used for 'Heike monogatari' was called heikyoku - 'Heike music' - and time and time again one reads that this was the origin of zyooruri chanting. Takayanagi makes an attempt to review the evidence (Takayanagi p. 157, 160). Apart from the references already produced here, which only go so far as to show that zatoo of some sort or another recited zyooruri, he gives an extract from the diary of Tokitune, son of Tokitugu of the 1571 reference. The passage relates that

on 15/8/1592 a zatoo called Hukuni came to Tokitune, and the latter took him, along with one other person, to call on an acquaintance. At this man's request, there was a performance of zyooruri, heikyoku, kouta, syamisen and haya-monogatari. Takayanagi would like to have it that the zatoo did all of this, which would make the same man perform zyooruri and heikyoku and play the syamisen, quite apart from the other things, which do not interest us here. The person who went along with them was probably a warrior, and unlikely to contribute to the entertainment. If Takayanagi is right, - and his interpretation seems reasonable - here we have one instance at least of the same man doing both heikyoku and zyooruri, and what one man can do presumably so can others.

He also brings into the discussion the use of the fan as an accompanying instrument instead of the 'biwa'. For this he has no authority earlier than the seventeenth century. He gives an extract from 'Wakan sansai zue' (1715) in which, in a passage about the origin of zyooruri, it is mentioned that the accompaniment was to the rhythm of a fan before the syamisen was used, and he also quotes two poems, from collections dated c. 1670 and c. 1690, which refer to this sort of accompaniment. He has also found, in the 'Seikyoku ruisan' (see also p. 24 of this thesis) a reproduction of a portion of an illustrated screen said to date from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, in

which a chanter, presumably a biwa-hoosi from his attire, his blindness, and his biwa laid at his side, is busy reciting, holding a fan in his right hand. Takayanagi reproduces this drawing and argues that as the biwa-hoosi always used a biwa when reciting 'Heike monogatari', this one must have been reciting something else, and what else could that be but zyooruri? Inspection of this twice reproduced drawing shows that the fan is held upright, closed, and that the reciter's left hand is laid on his left knee; so that it does not look as if he is using the fan for any rhythmical purpose. Reciters nowadays hold a fan in one hand as part of the appropriate posture when reciting, and it does not look as if the biwa-hoosi in the picture is doing anything else than this. It would seem therefore that Takayanagi's effort to discover some proof is not very effective, especially as the kind of fan accompaniment known to have existed in some late provincial zyooruri consisted of holding the half-opened fan in the left hand and drawing the fingertips of the right hand across its ribs to make the rhythm.

Nevertheless, in a general sense at least, there can be little doubt that Heike recitation had a profound influence on the chanting that goes with zyooruri. The last of the biwa-hoosi survived into the era of the gramophone and one or two recordings of their chanting are available. The type of recitation is governed by the necessity the reciter has of providing his own accompaniment, and the

general pattern is of an alternation of fragments of recitative and chords struck on the biwa. This of course is far removed from the chanting and music that go with the puppet play today, but the resources of the modern zyooruri performance are much greater. Even if only one chanter is used, at least he and the syamisen player are separate, so that chanting (which may be said to include aria, recitative and conversation) is continuously accompanied by music. This gives a much richer effect than does the performance of the biwa-hoosi. However, in the island of Sado there survives a style of accompaniment to the local puppet theatre, called the Bun-ya style (Bun-ya-busi). This was developed by Okamoto Bun-ya, a chanter of zyooruri in the 1670's. The resemblance between this survival and the recordings of heikyoku is noticeable. It is obviously dangerous to place too much reliance upon arguments depending upon present-day styles of playing and singing, which have been handed down from teacher to pupil by largely oral tradition for nearly three centuries, but listening to modern performances of various styles gives the impression that one line of development runs from the recitation of 'Heike monogatari' through the whole of zyooruri to the modern popular naniwa-busi, and that this is a type of music different, for example, from that of the noo plays.

In short, then, and to express it in the most cautious terms, there is nothing to show that zyooruri

chanting developed from anything but heikyoku. The course of events may well have been that in the latter half of the fifteenth century the biwa-hoosi began to find that their performances were less popularly received, partly, perhaps, because 'Heike monogatari' , long and varied though it was, began to pall, and partly because of the development of noo plays, with their many themes. One way in which the biwa-hoosi reacted was to look around for new material, and the Zyooruri story was either taken over, if it had been independently conceived, or written by them. It would appeal to the performers, since it involved Usiwaka, already the hero of their main material, and thus caused no great break with their old habits, and to the audience because it was a romantic love-tale in a more modern style than that of the performers' old material. It is possible that, if indeed the accompaniment was done by scratching on a fan, the object was to lighten and quicken the entertainment.

The next step was the arrival of the syamisen. This instrument has been mentioned once or twice already, and it is not proposed to go into the theories and arguments relating to the origin, and date and method of introduction into Japan of this instrument. They can be found summarised in Takayanagi, p.129 ff. It is generally accepted that it came into Japan from the Ryuukyu islands, that by about 1580 it had become well established in Japan, accompanying singing of all kinds, and that it replaced the biwa as a popular

instrument because it was a more manageable instrument and fitted in, by what was considered its romantic, even erotic, tones, with the awakening interests of the merchant classes in Japan. There is little direct evidence of its early use in connection with zyooruri chanting; the 1592 entry in Tokitune's diary mentioned above may be or may not, according to one's interpretation of it.

Another useful account of the introduction of the syamisen occurs in Tanabe (1954; p.283). In conjunction with this he produces an original theory about the origin of the Zyooruri story. According to this theory, the story originated in the outcaste villages in Mikawa province. Among these 'outcastes' were the majority of entertainers, as well as workers in leather, slaughterers and the like, and also prostitutes. Lady Zyooruri is always referred to as tyoozuya no musume - 'daughter of the tyoozuya'. The word tyoozuya is normally translated by 'rich man' or something similar. However, tyoozuya can also be used for a manager of a house of prostitution, and Tanabe says that such a manager might adopt girls who would thus become the 'manager's daughters'. He also says that high-sounding buddhistic names were often assumed by prostitutes at the time. The story of the night spent by Yositone with Zyooruri would thus be one invented in a brothel at the posting station of Yahagi, to act as publicity by showing what a distinguished clientèle there had been in the past, thereby, it was hoped,

attracting the better class of customer. To this remote district, says Tanabe, the biwa had not penetrated, and the local reciters used the fan rhythm described above. When Oda Nobunaga entered Kyoto, there came in his army, in which there would be many men from Mikawa, some who recited this story. It was seized upon by those looking for material for the new syamisen and rewritten by Ono no O-Zuu, or somebody else, and thereafter developed into the zyooruri of the puppet plays.

There are attractive points in this theory. That the word tyoozya was used in a general way as signifying 'leader', and thence was applied in Kamakura times to the manager of a brothel is also mentioned in Nakayama (p.313). Instances of prostitutes with buddhist names have not been discovered, but there is no real reason to doubt that such existed. There seems to be an incompatibility between the desire to attract better clients and the reported remoteness of the district. In fact Mikawa is not very remote from Kyoto, and travellers between there and Kamakura could well go through it, so that it is most unlikely that the biwa was unknown there. We have seen that travellers and poets knew the story in the fifteenth century, and the attribution of its popularity in Kyoto to a rewriting by Ono no O-Zuu seems only another effort to fit her into the picture somewhere. Tanabe's theory then is not only unsupported by evidence, but in some respects goes against it.

Although the contemporary evidence for the use of the syamisen with zyooruri before the start of the puppet plays is very limited, or even non-existent, there is an accepted account of it which has now no known surviving documents to prove it but which is firmly established in the histories of Japanese music. Three names are mentioned as those of the ancestors of the doll theatre. They are Takino and Sawazumi, the first referred to sometimes as kengyoo, sometimes as kootoo, the second always as kengyoo, and the third is Menukiya Tyoozaburoo. All are rather cloudy figures. 'Sikidoo ookagami' (ZE 2 p.529) mentions Takino-kootoo as being the first to set zyooruri to music and giving the first performance of it in 1594. The very name of Sawazumi is not certain; sometimes it is written 澤住, sometimes 澤角, and in 'Sansai zue' this second character is given the reading kado, making his name Sawakado. In 'Seikyoku ruisan' (written 1837, printed 1847), which was to be for some time the authoritative work on Japanese music of the popular variety, Takino and Sawazumi are confidently established as co-founders (somewhat indefinitely after Ono no O-Zuu) of the line of zyooruri chanters. It is doubtful, however, if one would be justified in thinking of them as any more real than Ono no O-Zuu. The writer of 'Sikidoo ookagami' may have had some written document to rely on, but it looks as if later works did nothing more than copy and embellish earlier ones.

Menukiya Tyoozaburoo is said, as his first name implies, to have been at first a metal-worker, engaged in the manufacture of decorated sword-fittings. He then became a pupil of Sawazumi, who was allegedly accompanying zyooruri on the syamisen by now, and it is he who was credited with the organisation of the first complete zyooruri puppet performance. The evidence for his existence is no more weighty than that for the others. He makes an early appearance in 'Oomu ga soma' (1711) and is also enshrined in 'Seikyoku ruisan'. He is said to have cooperated with a certain Hitta, a puppet manipulator from the Ebisu shrine in Nisi-no-miya, to put on the first full puppet play in which the three elements of recitation, music and puppets were to be found.

Before we discuss these early performances, however, it will be convenient to consider the early history of puppets in Japan, and to endeavour to trace the origin of those used in zyooruri.

(3) Early history of Japanese puppets.

The earliest Japanese reference to puppets is an entry in Minamoto Sitagoo's dictionary, 'Wamyoo ruisyuu syoo' (usually known by the abbreviated title 'Wamyoosyoo'), which appeared in the first half of the tenth century. This does not give much assistance since it merely says that the word 傀儡子 is pronounced 久々豆 (kugutu) and are

'played with' (or 'worked by') entertainers, and that the Chinese work 顏氏家訓 says that they are popularly called 郭秃 ('bald heads'). A work of about 1055, 'Sin-sarugaku-ki' ('New account of sarugaku') lists them among the various kinds of sarugaku performance, the pronunciation of the word being given as kugutu mawasi (G.9 p.340). Most can be learnt from 'Kairaisi-ki' 傀儡子記 by Ooe Masahusa, who lived from 1041 to 1111 (G. 9 p.324). It is written in Chinese, and the following is a rendering of this interesting document:

'The kairaisi have no settled abode and no fixed residence. They live a wandering life and shelter in tents made of felt (or matting); they are very like Northern barbarians.

All the men ride horses and use bows and get their livelihood by hunting. Some of them juggle with two swords (or two-bladed swords) and with seven balls; others make wooden dolls dance, fight, and generally imitate the actions of human beings. There are dolls representing dragons and fish, which writhe most realistically. The men often deceive the eye, too, with tricks like changing sand and stones into gold and coins, and plants into birds and beasts.

The women are wont to heave sighs, roll their hips and smile alluring smiles. They use rouge and white powder, perform songs and lewd music and thus seek to fascinate men. In this they are not restrained by their parents, husbands or sons-in-law. They do not hesitate to spend a night of pleasure with travellers and wayfarers, even though they have only a brief acquaintance with them. On account of their attractions, they are given large sums of money. They possess embroidered garments, brocaded clothes, and golden hair-ornaments and caskets. This is true of all of them, without exception.

The kairaisi do not cultivate a single field, nor do they gather a single mulberry leaf; so they do not come within any official registration. None of them belong to the district where they are; all keep to the wandering life, and know nothing of kings and princes. Nor do they fear the local governors. Since they have no work allotted to them they pass their

whole life in pleasure. At night they worship Hyakusin. They pray for help and happiness by beating drums, dancing and making an uproar.

Their groups in the East - in Mino, Mikawa and Tootoomi - are greatest in importance. Next are those in Harima on the east of the mountains, and Tazima on the west. Those of Kyuusyuu are the least important. Famous names among them are Komikka, Hyakusanzenzai, Manzai, Ogimi, Magogimi, etc. Their performances are most entertaining and people listening to them are enthralled and cannot keep still in their places. These performances include songs such as imayoo, asigara henge, saibara, denka, huuzoku, and other kinds too many to enumerate. In fact, these people are unique. Who can but feel sorry for them?'

Hyakusin in the fourth paragraph is thought to be another name of Hyakudayuu, a popular cult-figure, one of whose functions is to act as a protective deity of puppets and their manipulators. Whether or not this is a true identification has not been investigated. The characters in the text could equally well mean 'their hundred gods'. The names of the songs in the last paragraph are all of types popular at the period.

One point of confusion arises, namely that the characters 傀儡子 are read kugutu in 'Wamyosyoo' and kugutu mawasi in 'Sin-sarugaku-ki'. Kugutu mawasi implies 'he who causes kugutu to dance' and the authorities therefore agree in having kugutu signify 'puppet'. Given the normal lack of precise connection between a character and its Japanese reading, it would seem unprofitable to dwell upon this inconsistency. It also appears irrelevant to this thesis to discuss the derivation of the word kugutu, which has attracted considerable attention from Japanese scholars.

What must be considered, however, is whether these puppets, whose existence is clearly proved in the tenth and eleventh centuries, have any connection with those used in the puppet theatre of the seventeenth century. From the twelfth century on, kugutu always implied an entertainer of some sort; it normally means a female prostitute, though the masculine hero of a story in 'Konzyaku monogatari' is a former kugutu, in this case a singer.

There is apparently a gap of some three hundred years before another possible reference to puppets occurs. Many documents and records have, of course, been destroyed throughout the history of Japan, and too much weight should not be placed upon this absence of references, but, on the other hand, there are no pictorial representations of puppets from this period, either. Drawings of popular entertainments of various sorts, including juggling and conjuring, survive in fairly considerable numbers, and it seems unlikely that something would not have been preserved if puppet shows had been widespread. Takano thinks that some temples, in particular those of the Zyoodo sect, gave such shows, but he quotes no sources for his opinion. (Takano E. p. 59)

References to puppets of one sort or another start again in the fifteenth century. The earliest are in 'Kanmon gyoki', the diary of Sadahusa, father of the emperor Go-Hanazono. On 25/3/1416 he mentions tekugutu as coming and performing sarugaku. Japanese authors have always taken these to be puppet manipulators, but this is far from certain.

There is a term tesarugaku which may very well be parallel to tekugutu, and it does not refer to the use of hands at all, but to sarugaku performed by actors other than professionals. Certainly, if puppets performed all the items mentioned (for apart from sarugaku, there is a 'dragon and tiger' dance, a 'lion' dance, and kusemai), one cannot but feel that the technique was fairly advanced. Another item in 'Kanmon gyoki' (7/8/1432), records that great interest was shown in an ayaturi-dooroo (possibly a lamp with moving figures) which 'was sent from the palace. The scene was the descent on horseback at Hiyodori-goe, in the battle of Iti-no-tani (an incident from 'Heike monogatari'). The figures were very good and the viewers could not but be amazed beyond measure.' This was presumably some sort of mechanical toy which had no direct connection with the development of puppets for use in the theatre, but it proves, if proof is needed, that 'Heike monogatari' was popular at the time. (Kanmon gyoki I p. 12 and II p. 51)

It is in the sixteenth century, however, that the popularity of puppets seems to have developed. From 1561 to the end of the century, it is recorded in the diary of Oyudono no ue, a court lady, that ebisu-kaki (the first reference is to saru-ebisu, which are probably the same as ebisu-kaki, references to which start in 1568) appeared from time to time and gave their performances at the palace (DNS Sup. p. 1).

Ebisu-kaki were puppet manipulators attached to the shrine of Ebisu, part of the large Sintoo establishment of Settu Nisinomiya, in what is now the town of Nisinomiya, between Oosaka and Koobe. They have also connections with the island of Awazi, just to the south. Ebisu, one of the gods of good fortune, is closely connected with the seabream fishery of the Inland Sea, and the Ebisu-kaki ('Ebisu-lifters') went round the fishing villages giving performances in which a puppet representing the god appeared, and which had the object of ensuring that the catches were good. A puppet group on Awazi still possesses such a puppet and there is still a firm memory of these visits to fishing villages, although they do not seem to take place nowadays.

Kuroki quotes extracts from the diary of Matudaira Ietada, dated 4/3/1585 and 27/4/1585, which refer to visits by a hotoke-mawasi, who may have been the manipulator of a puppet representing a buddha, or some other buddhistic figure, for propagandist purposes.

It therefore appears that in the latter half of the sixteenth century puppets were being used for religious purposes in both Sintoo and buddhist contexts. Whether or not such a religious use had been going on, as Takano and his followers think, since the days of the old kugutu, it is impossible to say. It does seem certain that they had at this time an increase in popularity and the possibility of foreign influence must not be overlooked. The question of a borrowing from

China will be considered in a later chapter, but it might also be noted that this period of increasing popularity is also that of the presence of the Jesuits in Japan. There is a certain amount of speculation about their possible influence on the Japanese theatre, as is indicated in the section on western influence (entitled 'Nanban bunka') in Hayasiya Tatusaburoo's chapter on the special character of Momoyama culture in ZNB 8 p.43, in which he even states that the Jesuits are said to have used puppet plays as a kind of sacred drama. However, no evidence is adduced, and the statement must be considered only as hearsay.

There will be later in this thesis a discussion of the kinds of puppet used in the puppet theatre and their development. For the moment it will be enough to say that no description of puppets (other than mechanical toys) earlier than the full puppet theatre is extant, and that therefore it is not possible to prove or disprove the connection between ebisu-kaki and kugutu-mawasi by a consideration of the type of puppet used.

B. The earliest repertory

(4) The Zyooruri story

The earliest repertory of the puppet theatre is mentioned both in contemporary records and in later accounts. These latter have it that the first performance took place in Kyooto in the Keityoo period (1596 - 1614) and that it was given by Menukiya Tyoozaburoo as reciter and musician, and Hitta, the puppeteer from Nisi-ne-miya. They played the story of the Lady Zyooruri, and one of Menukiya's own compositions, 'Miyako meguri' - 'Round the Capital'.

'Sanko kikigaki', which is a local history of the Kanazawa area, thought to have been completed by 1688 and probably based on private records, tells of a theatre set up in Kanazawa in 1614. The performance was by puppets, and the pieces played were given the general name of zyooruri, their individual titles being 'Amida no munewari', 'Gooo no hime' and, most popular of all 'Usiwaka-maru zyuunidan'.
(DNS p.722)

If we turn to the contemporary records, in this case again diaries, we find that in 1614 there occur the earliest references in them to specific plays. Tokio, grandson of Tokitugu, records a performance of 'Amida no munewari' and various other puppet pieces; Tokiyosi, in his diary, referring to the same performance, calls it 'Amida no munekiri' and says it was performed by ebisu-kaki, who hung a curtain in the garden for this purpose. They also

gave the noo plays 'Kamo', 'Daibutu kuyoo' and 'Takasago'. On the next day they gave a similar show. These performances took place in the palace of the retired emperor Go-Yoozei (DNS p.708,709).

From this it would appear that by 1614, puppet zyooruri had become sufficiently well established and sufficiently respectable to merit the attention of the court and this is borne out by the conferring of the title of Kawati no zyoo - 'Secretary of Kawati' - on a certain Kenmotu, a zyooruri performer, by the emperor. Such a title was purely honorary, of course, and may well have been conferred to give Kenmotu some status should he give performances in court circles. This is the first certain instance of a practice which was to become usual; later zyooruri reciters frequently had such titles. Some works state that Hitta, the puppet manipulator from Nisi-no-miya, had earlier received the title of Awazi no zyoo, but there is some doubt about this.

It will be useful, then, to take this year 1614, which also happens to be the last year of the Keityoo year period, as the end of the earliest period of puppet zyooruri, and to have a closer look at the plays which were performed, and also to see in what way they developed as time went on. It is not proposed to be too critical about the evidence for plays having been part of this first repertory, but to consider all pieces, in whatever source they are mentioned.

Pride of place must be given to the Zyooruri story

itself, since it almost certainly gave zyooruri its name and was known, as we have seen, in 1485 and recited in 1531, if not earlier. It appears originally to have been similar in style to the o-togi-zoosi, literally attendant's or nurse's tales, that were written possibly mainly in the late fifteenth century, and are versions of legends, tales in which animals take the place of human beings, and stories with buddhistic morals attached. In this case the story is one of the Yositone cycle, and although the incident it describes is not found elsewhere, the general background is similar to that found in noo plays about the young Yositone. There is also a close resemblance, in all but details of plot, with the mai no hon (of which more will be said in chapter 5) 'Eboosi ori'.

It is believed that the original name of the story was 'Zyooruri monogatari', and that it acquired another name by which it became widely known, 'Zyuunidan-zoosi' - 'storybook in twelve sections' - from the fact that at some time or another, possibly when it was adopted by the biwa-hoosi in the early sixteenth century, it was divided into twelve sections, as the 'Yasuda monogatari' is also said to have been, in imitation of the twelve sections of 'Heike monogatari', and also in reference to the twelve vows and twelve generals of the Medicine Master. It would perhaps be useful at this point to give a summary of the story.

The time is early in Yositone's life; his age is

given as fifteen in the story, which means that he would be thirteen or fourteen by modern counting - the date is thus about 1175, although this is of little account because the episode is purely imaginary. The period, however, is that stage in the conflict between the two great families of Minamoto (to which Yositone belonged) and the Taira, when the latter were temporarily in the ascendant and were hunting such members of the Minamoto family as were still alive, in particular the two brothers Yoritomo and Yositone.

The place is in the province of Mikawa, at Yahagi. In accordance with the usual practice in Japan by which important persons used several names, Yositone is known variously as Usiwaka-maru, Hoogan-dono, and On-zoosi. It is by the last that he is known throughout this version of the story. He has with him one servant, Kaneuri Yositugu, and as in the noo play 'Ataka' the roles are reversed, and he pretends to be Kaneuri's servant.

Section I. The Lady Zyooruri, the Buddha-given child.

On-zoosi and his servant reached Yahagi on their journey northwards; they came upon a beautiful dwelling-place, and On-zoosi asked to whom it belonged. He was told that it was occupied by the Lady Zyooruri and her mother. Her father, Gentyunagon, now dead, had been married many years to her mother but they had had no children. So they went to the Healing Buddha of the Mountain Peak ('Mine no Yakusi') at the temple on Mountain Hooraizi and offered up prayers for

a child to be born to them. These prayers lasted for a hundred days. A list of all the thank-offerings they would give if their request was granted is included in the text, and the wife swore to kill herself in the temple if it was not. Happily a daughter had been born, as beautiful as a jewel, and she was given the name Zyooruri.

Section II. Flowers.

It was cherry-blossom time, and On-zoosi had been composing poetry amid the falling petals, when he saw the house and asked the questions answered in Section I. There was the sweet sound of music coming from within. He wondered at the beauty of the spot, with all the flowers, trees and rocks that embellished it.

Section III. Beauties.

He peeped into the garden through the fence and saw the Lady with her two hundred and forty woman attendants, engaged in admiring the blossoms and composing songs and linked poems. Zyooruri was a paragon of beauty, was exquisitely dressed, and showed herself expert in these literary and musical pursuits. On-zoosi was amazed at such beauty of site, dwelling and person and at such accomplishments in so remote a district, and at once fell in love with her.

Section IV. Outdoor music.

With twelve of her women, Zyooruri started to play music. On-zoosi, listening outside, noticed the absence of a flute in the playing, and could not help bringing out his

famous side-blown flute given to him by his mother, and joining in, although he knew that this might reveal who he was. The skill of his playing entranced the Lady, who sent one of her women to find out his name. She returned and told her mistress that it was Kaneuri's retainer. But the Lady suspected that it might be some nobleman in exile on account of the disturbed times, for no mere retainer could play so well.

Section V. The flute.

Zyooruri sent another attendant to report upon the mysterious musician. This one returned and described in great detail his clothes and weapons, and reported that she recognised him as a nobleman of the Minamoto family.

Section VI. The Messengers.

Many messengers were sent to him to try to persuade him to come and join the entertainment, but he was very reluctant, because of the danger he ran in having his identity discovered. They brought him poems from their mistress and he replied to them. Eventually he was won over by their insistence and went in. There he displayed his great skill in composing poetry and in performing on various musical instruments. What he saw of Zyooruri increased his love for her and when he at last left her, it was with the intention of returning later, in secret.

Section VII. The Secret Visit.

Late that night he went to her, finding doors open

for him, and was guided to her chamber, where she lay surrounded by screens, each of which is described in detail, as are the furnishings, books etc., in the apartments through which he had come. He extinguished twelve of the thirty lights in the chamber, woke Zyooruri, and declared his love for her.

Section VIII. Conversation on the Pillow.

She feared discovery by her mother and tried to get him to leave. She told him she was reading a thousand sūtras for her father who had died the year before. On-zoosi had lost his father when he was three, and had had ten thousand sūtras read for him. This was a bond between them. He told her stories of lovers in India and China.

Section IX. Japanese Poetry.

He urged his love by quoting examples in Japanese poems. She feared the punishment of the buddhas and did not reply to the poems he quoted. Finally she lost her heart to his great attainments and forgot her fear of her mother.

Section X. Travelling on.

In the morning they were bidding each other a sad farewell. Her mother's suspicions had been aroused by the beautiful flute-playing the evening before and she came to ask her daughter about it. As she approached, On-zoosi leaped over the three-fold ditch and fled. He and his companion continued their journey northwards.

Section XI. The Beach.

On-zoosi fell seriously ill, and was left by Kaneuri in the care of some beach-dwellers. Kaneuri went on his way. On-zoosi lay among some pine trees and the local inhabitants tried to take away his sword, but it turned into a snake twelve fathoms long. The god Hatiman, the protector of the Minamoto, appeared as an old monk to Zyooruri, who had dismissed her attendants and was living in a brushwood hut. He told her of her lover's plight. She went to where he was, but found nothing but a heap of shingle with a sword projecting from it. Underneath she discovered On-zoosi, apparently lifeless. She prayed to the Healing Buddha and her lover started to breathe. A band of wandering priests arrived and took them to shelter. (According to another version, it was the priests who brought On-zoosi back to life by their incantations.)

Section XII On-zoosi goes eastwards.

They sheltered in a nun's hut, the nun being the Healing Buddha in disguise, and after twelve days of careful treatment, On-zoosi recovered and told Zyooruri who he was. They exchanged protestations of undying love. She gave him a hair ornament. He promised to meet her again when the Taira family were defeated, but had to travel on at the moment to avoid capture, for his enemies were near at hand. He summoned up goblins (tengu) large and small and had her whisked off home before he started off again.

The text of which the above is a summary is based, with very few alterations, on a version compiled by Suwara Kyuuba in 1906, and reprinted by Takano (Ksei V p422). The earliest dated version is that of 1640 and bears the title 'Zyuunidan Zyooruri monogatari', but a Saga-bon version (printed in movable type) is possibly a little earlier. It is thus clear that only relatively late versions of the story are extant, and that it may have undergone considerable change since its original form. In particular, Takano (K p.614) considers that the last two sections of the version summarised above were written later than the others. As will be shown later, a difference in style is noticeable in these sections, and so Takano's theory may well be true. From the fact that the god Hatiman, a sintoo god, first appears in the story only in these sections, Takano argues that his introduction was later, and that the original was purely buddhistic in religious background; this he uses to support his theory of the development of the Zyooruri story from 'Yasuda monogatari'. He sees it as fundamentally a story in praise of the Healing Buddha, who here grants the request of Zyooruri's parents, and also restores Yositone to life. This second miracle, and the Healing Buddha's nun's disguise, are mentioned only in section XI, considered later by Takano, and there is the other version of the tale in which the Healing Buddha has nothing to do with the hero's restoration to life. It might therefore be equally well argued that the last two sections were added to increase the Healing Buddha's participation in the tale.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that there is a difference between the first ten sections and the last two, which are in straightforward narrative style, with a minimum use of decoration, except for the occasional use of rhythmical prose in groups of seven and five syllables, which is characteristic of all Japanese prose written for chanting or recitation in this period. In the first ten sections, however, there is a profusion of quotations, and references, and above all instances of what are known as mono-zukusi, which are passages which give long lists of whatever is being written about. For example, in Section II there is a passage which describes the gardens of Zyooruri's house; it mentions four kinds of rocks, of four different colours, six kinds of waterfowl on the lake, on the three islands in the lake there are eighteen kinds of trees and plants, to the east of the house sixty-six pine trees of four different kinds, and so on. There follows a translation of the passage, in which an attempt has been made to give an impression of the rhythmical nature of the latter part. Some of the names of plants are translations of the Japanese terms and are not names used in the west.

'In the flower garden on the south side of the house there was hollowed out a lake. In the lake, standing stones, prostrate stones, random stones, disciples-learning-from-the-Buddha stones, green, red, white and black were set.

'Mandarin ducks, seagull, little grebe, geese, duck,

waterfowl, and numerous aquatic birds lived on the clear sands.

'In the lake three islands there appeared,
 By name Hoorai, Hoozyoo and Eisyu,
 And to adorn these islands three,
 A hundred different flowers there bloomed -
 Red plum, white plum, double cherry,
 Camellia, azalea, peonies of two sorts.
 Iris, Chinese bellflowers, rushes for thatching,
 Maiden flowers, asters, gentians, burnets,
 Daisies white and yellow, of many different kinds,
 Eon-grass that grows for years unnumbered,
 Duckweed, unstable, unreliable.....
 In the water garden on the eastern side,
 Chinese pines, Huzi pines, five-leaved pines,
 New Year pines, bending in the hands of uprooters,
 Sixty-six pines were planted there.....'

Almost the only relieving feature of these enumerations is the use of rhythmical prose, and that, as Takano says, resembles the incantations of sorcerers, or, at the least, has a slight hypnotic effect. The writer seems to be carried away by the necessity for finding different varieties of things, introducing what are called above 'New Year pines', for example. The Japanese term is 'Day-of-the-rat pines' (ne no hi no matu), referring to an old custom whereby, on the first day of the rat of the new year, people went out into the mountains and

uprooted young pine trees. As far as it has been possible to discover, these were not pines of any particular sort, and so the inclusion of them with the other types of pine is inappropriate, except that it affords the writer the opportunity of introducing a picturesque reference.

The inclusion of 'eon-grass' (literally 'ten-thousand-year grass'), with the comment on its endurance, induces the writer to bring in duckweed ('floating grass') as a symbol of instability by contrast, though duckweed is out of place with the other plants of the list.

It may be noted here that this type of mono-zukusi shows an early stage in the development of the device, where it is little more than an enumeration, with only three instances of comment or picturesque reference. In later writers, the mono-zukusi reaches a degree of complication in which the basic list becomes almost indiscernible in the mass of punning reference and allusion that surrounds it.

Similar lists of musical instruments, tunes, furnishings and other things occur throughout the first ten sections of the work, but not in the last two. One can imagine that the biwa-hoosi could make good use of them in their recitations, in which length was presumably of no importance. Their audiences were used to hearing them intone 'Heike monogatari' and the length of the Zyooruri story would seem far from excessive, but when the syamisen players took it over, and then when puppets were used to

depict the action, it must have seemed much too slow-moving to audiences who were becoming used to a faster tempo of life. So it appears that shorter versions were made, which, as Takano says, include only the interesting happenings.

Wakatuki says that he knows nearly forty versions of the story, starting with the Saga-bon text, and presumably including such late works as Tikamatu Monzaemon's version, dated 1690 (Wakatuki Ki. p. 593). He reprints thirteen of them starting on p. 181 of this same work. He has been able to divide them into three categories:

(a) Long versions. These are represented by the Saga-bon text, and are divided into twelve sections. They date from about 1640, and seem to have been written for reading, not for reciting.

(b) Medium length versions. These are generally in fifteen sections, but are nevertheless shorter than those in category (a). In them the story ends with Yositone's flight from Zyooruri's house and his later adventures are omitted or, at most, told very briefly. They are normally provided with notes for singing or accompaniment, and date from 1660 or later.

(c) Short versions. From about 1670 appear the shortest versions of all, in eight or nine sections.

Wakatuki has dealt carefully with the connections between these various versions, and he gives tables setting out the results of his work. It will be sufficient here

to consider an example of the third category, 'Zyooruri zyuunidan', which, in spite of its title, is in eight sections. It is taken from a manuscript in the possession of the actor family Nakamura. The copy is dated 1775, but its original was probably written in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The story in this version ends at the 'Conversation on the Pillow', section VIII in the long version. Thus it is a love story with a more or less happy ending, the lovers enjoying one night of bliss, not caring about what her parents will say when they find out (in this version her father is not dead), trying to think only of present happiness and not of their parting in the morning. The whole incident of Yositone's illness is omitted, and therefore much of the religious content of the long version disappears. No longer have we the Healing Buddha restoring Yositone to health, no longer have the Lady aiding the exile, possibly at the risk of her life.

An examination of the eight sections of the short version shows that sections I, II and III of the (long) 'Zyuunidan-zoosi' are replaced by a very short introduction to section 1 of the (short) 'Zyooruri zyuunidan', section IV of the long version becomes sections 1,2 and 3 of the short, section V and the beginning of VII (VI disappears) become section 4, and the remainder of VII becomes 5,6 and 7. Section VIII deals with the same material in both versions. Thus, the

tedious descriptions of the hundred days of prayer to the Healing Buddha, of the gardens, of the dress of Zyooruri and her attendants all go; so do those of Yositone's skill with musical instruments when he joins in the playing, except for his performance of the flute, which is still an important part of the story. But the rather lengthy sections about the furnishings of Zyooruri's apartments, in particular of the four screens depicting the four seasons, still remain.

The story, then, is that Yositone and his attendants come to Yahagi and are entertained by the lord of the district. The Lady Zyooruri and her attendants are playing music in the open air, and Yositone hides behind a fence to listen. He notices the absence of a flute, and cannot prevent himself from joining in on his own famous instrument, even though that will expose him to the danger of discovery. Zyooruri is amazed at the ability of the player, and wonders if it could be a Minamoto, fleeing to the east. So she sends one of her attendants, Tamamo, to see who it is. Tamamo is so struck by his beauty that she tries to tell her mistress that it is only a groom, with the idea that Zyooruri will lose interest in him, and leave him for herself. But Zyooruri reproves her for underrating him and sends another messenger, Zyuugoya this time. She gives her a mistress a poem he had written, and as she reads it she has no doubt that the stranger is Yositone. He waits

outside, impatiently, till he thinks it safe to go in to Zyooruri. As he does so Zyuugoya comes to meet him and takes him through many rooms to the curtain which leads to her mistress's sleeping place. Behind the curtain he comes upon four screens, each with a picture on it representing one of the seasons. These are described in considerable detail. He gazes upon Zyooruri, compares her favourably with famous beauties of old, and, looking around her chamber, sees from the books there, representing the best of Japanese literature, that she is a person of considerable culture. Finally he speaks to her, and she tries to persuade him to go. In spite of her protests he stays and she forgets her fear of her parents and the story ends with the words 'The joy in their hearts is beyond the power of words to express'.

The whole interest of the piece is concentrated on Yositone's visit to Zyooruri's room. The only long descriptions retained are those of the furnishings in her apartments, probably to keep up the suspense until the climax is reached. The most important new element in the story is the incident of Tamamo and her effort to keep Yositone for herself.

In short, the piece is brought much nearer the type of love-tale that was so popular in seventeenth century Japanese fiction, although it did not become quite typical of the times. The original story, with the great reluctance shown by Zyooruri to give way to her love, and the parting

of the lovers at the end, was quite at variance with the ideas of audiences that the puppet theatres served. They were becoming used to lovers who sacrificed everything to their love - home, duty, and very often life itself. The description of the scene in Zyooruri's bedroom is discreet, as discreet as they are in 'Genji monogatari'. Puppet theatre audiences were beginning to expect less conversation and more action.

There is another point that can be made. The texts in Wakatuki's three categories grow progressively shorter and simpler, and their chronological sequence naturally inclines one to believe that the versions in category (b) derive from those in category (a), and those in category (c) from those in category (b). Categories (b) and (c), however, agree in leaving out the incidents of Yositone's illness and recovery, and if Takano's theory of the later addition of the last two sections of the long version is accepted, as seems reasonable, the possibility remains that these two categories derive not from category (a), but from some unknown original which also ended at section X of the twelve section story. Perhaps the tale as told by the biwa-hoosi was this version, perhaps the first puppet play finished with the conversation on the pillow, or the flight from Zyooruri's house. Even without the last two sections, the long version of the play still includes, as shown above, all the wearisome devices which would make it boring to a

more modern audience.

Both Takano and Wakatuki are unwilling to believe that the long version of the story was ever used for the puppet theatre, or even for recital to the syamisen without puppets. That the biwa-hoosi might have strummed their way through its longueurs they are willing to allow, but they think that the producers of a puppet play on the theme would have shortened the text considerably. Existing short texts are all printed too late to be identified with Menukiya's version, even if this existed, but they indicate the kind of condensing that he might have done.

It will be remembered that the account which says that the Zyooruri story was performed in Kyoto in the first programme when Menukiya and Hitta collaborated in their puppet plays also mentions 'Miyako meguri'. Two almost identical versions exist of a piece of this name. One, in 'Koobunko' (18. p.983), is described as a ryuukooka - 'popular song'. The other is printed in Wakatuki Ki p.300; it is appended to a short version of the Zyooruri story and differs from the 'Koobunko' only in having the words Sate mo sono noti at the very beginning, and rubrics giving directions relating to the chanting and accompaniment. These prefixed words are typical of the majority of old zyooruri but rubrics of this sort did not come in till after 1680. The text may thus be reasonably dated as of the first half of the 1680's. That the piece was in the repertory about this time is

clear from an entry in the diary of the governor of Yamato (of which more will be written later, see p.132) which mentions a performance on 26/9/1673. On this occasion too it was given in the same programme as the Zyooruri story as an interlude between sections. The extant texts may very well be versions of this same interlude, for they are short pieces which would probably not take more than a few minutes to perform. But even though it was performed as a zyooruri in the 1670's and 1680's, there is nothing to show that it was in fact Menukiya's alleged composition. It is a fairly straightforward description of Kyoto, with its temples and beauty-spots but is too slight a piece to warrant further attention.

(5) Other early plays: 'Amida no Munewari'.

In addition to the Zyooruri story and 'Miyako meguri', reference has been made to 'Amida no munewari' (otherwise 'Amida no munekiri'), 'Gooo no himé', and the noo plays 'Kamo', 'Daibutu kuyoo' and 'Takasago'. There are six doubtful additions to this list: five of these form the gobu no honbusi - 'five original styles'- mentioned in the preface to 'Oomu ga soma' (1711) (DNS p.767), and the sixth is 'Takadati', which is the earliest printed zyooruri text (1625) and thus merits inclusion in the list of possibles. The 'five original styles' are quoted as 'Aguti no hangan', 'Gorin kudaki', 'Yumitugi', 'Yoroigae' and 'Toida', but they

can be dismissed from consideration right away because none of them have survived. There is, it is true, a much later piece with the same title as 'Aguti no hangan' but it is impossible to tell how close the connection might have been with the earlier piece.

The reference to 'Gooo no hime' in 'Sanko kikigaki' which was quoted at the beginning of Chapter (4) is probably to be relied upon, and is supported by a passage from 'Nanpo bunsyuu' - a collection of the writings of one Nanpo, referring to events in Kyuusyuu - which reports that great interest was aroused in the summer of 1616 in Kagosima by a zyooruri performance which included a play the name of which is not given. The plot is described, and it is obviously 'Gooo no hime', for it corresponds with a text dated 1671 which Mizutani summarises (p. 15). The relevant passage from 'Nanpo bunsyuu' is reprinted in DNS p.729.

The period of this play is the same as that of the Zyooruri story. Usiwaka is in hiding from the Taira in Kurama. On the thirteenth anniversary of the death of his father Tositomo, he goes out to a temple to perform the rites prescribed for such an occasion, and as he is on his way back to his retreat, he is caught in a rainstorm and takes shelter under the gateway of a house. This house is the residence of the Lady Gooo, a girl of fifteen or sixteen, and of her aunt, a buddhist nun. The girl catches sight of

the young warrior and immediately falls in love with him. She tells her aunt he is there, and the old lady sees at once that he is no ordinary person. He is invited into the house, entertained nobly, and finally induced to stay the night. As some return for their hospitality, he plays airs on his flute. The next morning, as he is about to go on his way, a sudden illness obliges him to remain with them.

The two women nurse him with great devotion and after a few days he has recovered sufficiently to think of continuing his journey. The Lady asks him who he is and what is his family. He is most reluctant to tell anyone his identity and merely says that he is from the East. She suspects that he is a Minamoto, and tells him that she is the daughter of Kamada Masakiyo, one of Tositomo's retainers who had died fighting for him. Usiwaka now realises that she is his friend and discloses his identity. Gooo reveals it to her aunt.

The nun immediately thinks of the reward that will be hers if she betrays Usiwaka to the head of the Taira family, Kiyomori and she hastens away to his mansion at Rokuhara. Her niece at once recognises her treacherous intentions and with the aid of an uncle she is able to trick Usiwaka's pursuers and return him safely to Kurama. Thereupon her aunt is imprisoned for having deceived Kiyomori. Gooo too is arrested and questioned about her guests whereabouts. She refuses to give any information. Subjected to torture by cold water,

hot water, piercing with arrows, by snakes, fire and other torments, she still remains silent and finally dies rather than betray her hero.

The connection between this play and the Zyooruri story is apparent. The hero, Usiwaka, his illness, his recovery under the nursing of the woman who loves him, are common to both, but the differences are also significant. It is not possible to talk of the style or the language of the piece, seeing that it has not survived, but the new elements of plot, in particular the scenes of torture are signs of the appreciation of the possibilities afforded by the use of puppets in the representation of scenes of violence.

The noo plays 'Kamo' and the rest were possibly very close or even identical imitations of their originals. 'Takadati' is almost identical with the mai no hon of the same name. The story is that of the last battle of Yositune and his faithful retainer Benkei, at the castle of Takadati, in which both these heroes perish, thus bringing to an end Yoritomo's quarrel with his younger brother. The text of the 1625 version is reprinted in Yokoyama I p.15, and a comparison between it and the mai no hon text reprinted in KBT p. 169 shows that there are only a few significant differences between the two. First, the zyooruri is divided into sections, and each of these starts with sate mo sono noti - 'Well then, after that' - , which was an unvarying phrase in the old zyooruri. Mai no hon are the texts of koowaka mai, entertainments by live performers in which the words were ,

chanted with no action except some apparently unrelated dancing. They hardly qualify for the title of drama and there was no need to divide them into sections. Three other differences, this time in the texts, are discernible. In the first section of the zyooruri (Yokoyama I p.16) there occurs a passage describing the tearful parting of Suzuki Saburoo Sigeie from his wife, when he sets off to join Yositone. The mai no hon is without this, but has in its place a mitiyuki, an allusive passage describing his journey. In the mai no hon, at a place corresponding to Yokoyama p.21, in the second section, there is a long passage referring to the legend of the shrine at Kumano; this is completely omitted in the zyooruri. Finally, while the mai no hon ends with the death of Benkei, the zyooruri goes on to describe Yositone's suicide, and the self-immolation of his followers in the burning castle. The remaining differences are only verbal and usually involve slight alterations of verb endings, particles and the like, which make no difference to the meaning. Large sections of the texts are identical.

The presence of the introductory phrase at the beginning of each section of the 1625 version proves that this is a zyooruri text. Perhaps because it is so early, it does not carry the inscription that it is a syooohon, that is, a true version, attested by the chanter, of the play in question.

It is not difficult to see in the larger differences between the two texts a reflection of the differing natures of koowaka and zyooruri. The former moves at a slow pace, with a formal dance and simple musical accompaniment. The latter is full of action and already was displaying scenes of emotion and violence in a relatively realistic way. Hence the substitution ~~for~~ the over-literary mitiyuki of the sentimental parting of Suzuki and his wife. The disappearance of the long account of the Kumano shrine, which even if interesting would have been a side-plot confusing to the audience, and the additional deaths at the end, providing a greater opportunity to the performers of showing their skill in portraying violent action, are also indicative of the new developments.

'Amida no munewari' (otherwise known as 'Amida no munekiri', 'Amida munewari', 'Munewari') is the best attested of these early plays and there are several texts extant. The earliest of these is published in Yokoyama II p.45 and also by Kisyo hukusei kai - 'Association for reproduction of rare books'. The former reprints the work in modern type but otherwise reproducing the characters (kanzi and kana) of the original, indicating the beginning and end of pages, with notes on the page size, number of lines to a page and characters to a line, of the original. The latter is a replica of the original, done by recarving blocks and taking care to imitate the actual characteristics of the writing.

The date of this text is 1651, but there is reason to think that much of it is earlier. It is in two volumes, with three sections in each, and Yokoyama points out that the last two pages (forming one folded page in the Japanese binding) of each volume shows a difference of carving from the rest. Not only is the form of the writing different, but it appears clearer on these pages. The replica edition reproduces the different forms, and an examination of the kanzi used in the original shows that six of these are used only in these last pages (only fifty kanzi are used throughout, most of the text being in kana). Yokoyama suggests that all this indicates that the text he reprints is a second edition of an earlier one, and that for this edition some of the blocks had to be recarved. He also asserts that the style of the text in the earlier parts of each volume, and the illustrations indicate an earlier date than 1651, and are comparable to those of a text published in 1631 entitled 'Sekkyoo Karukaya'.

The later texts available are four in number. One is in KBT p. 777 and is dated 1721. This same text is also the basis of a version printed in TBR p. 98, and the two differ only in the degree to which kana has been replaced by kanzi, and the use of hurigana in KBT. In 'Kinpira-bon zensyuu', a collection of reproductions, in the original block-printed form, of kinpira-bon (a term which will be explained later), 'Amida no munewari' is to be found once again. This bears no date, but has an inscription that it is a syoozon of Tenman Hatidayuu, a reciter known to have

worked in Edo about 1660. The text is the same as that of a photographic copy in the possession of the writer of a volume which forms part of the Iwasaki collection in the Tooyoobunko in Tookyoo. There are slight differences between the text represented by these two and that of the TBR and KBT, but the variations are in no case of any significance, being of the order of insertion or omission of exclamatory particles and the like, and of giving different readings of the same words. Both the kinpira-bon and Iwasaki version have illustrations, and it seems likely that those of the former are rather crude copies of those in the latter. It is probable that the former is in fact printed from a recarving of the Tenman Hatidayuu syoochon. Thus while the book itself may be late, the text is most probably that of 1660. Although the printed versions (TBR and KBT) are taken from an early eighteenth^{century} book, nevertheless one would expect them to be reprints of earlier editions, since virtually all development of old zyooruri came to an end in the 1680's, as will be seen later. The fact that Tenman Hatidayuu was a chanter of sekkyoo does not mean that his syoochon cannot be zyooruri. Sekkyoo, originally a method of reading or expounding Buddhist scriptures to a musical accompaniment, developed in the seventeenth century into a puppet theatre very similar to that of main-stream zyooruri, and a play with a religious theme could have been used in either theatre.

In short, it may reasonably be concluded that we are in possession of two versions of 'Amida no Munewari', dating respectively from about 1630 or a little later, and from about 1660. There follows a translation of the two texts, represented by those of Yokoyama and KBT. The arrangement is such that an easy comparison may be made between them. The words which are not underlined form the translation of the early version (which will be called 'Munewari' from the title it has in Yokoyama), and those which are underlined and in brackets are from the later text ('Amida no Munewari') where it differs from 'Munewari'. Where an asterisk comes before a passage which is followed by a passage in brackets, it is to be understood that the passage in brackets (and underlined) replaces that between the asterisk and the first bracket. Where there is no asterisk before a bracketed passage, it means that this is an addition; where an asterisked passage is followed by (-) it means that the asterisked passage is omitted in the later version.

The translation has deliberately tried to reproduce the lack of sophistication, the repetitions and the stilted dialogue of the originals. The narrative sometimes goes off into metrical prose, and an attempt has been made to suggest this in the English.

Amida's Riven Breast

I

Well now, to proceed, *once upon a time (now of
righteousness and wrong-doing these two things we know, that
righteousness to the Buddha is acceptable, that wrong-doing
Buddha and gods single out for reproof. Here then) on the
 bounds of Tenziku, *there was a large country and the name
 of this country was Bisyari-land (is a land, the land of
Bisyari), the province, to give it a name, the province of
 Enda, the village, to give it a name, the village of Katabira,
 and there there lives a very rich man. This rich man is
 known by the name of Kansibyooe. (Now) this *rich man
 (Kansibyooe) is possessed of no less than seven treasures
 which copiously abound in every way. The first of (all) the
 treasures he possesses is nine mines abounding in gold; the
 second of them is no less than seven mines abounding in silver
 and then, for the third (of his treasures), a pair, no less,
 of swords he does possess which have the power of quelling
 demons. Yet more, the fourth of the treasures he possesses
 is that in his garden, to the southward, he has a pine tree,
 which is called the Otoha pine; and this pine tree is a
 magical pine and even *were a man eighty or ninety (though
a man were advanced in years), when its piney breezes softly
 blow upon him he would, *what a transformation (-), renew

his youth to sixteen or seventeen, and this was included among the four treasures as the greatest of them all. The fifth (now of the treasures he possesses) is a magic Kantan pillow. The sixth (now of the treasures he possesses) is twelve jars with fountains flowing from them, (and) the seventh *now of the treasures he possesses (-) is his musk-cats, five in number; but over and above these seven, he has two children, brother and sister. The elder, Lady Tenzyu, is in her seventh year, (with form so graceful and manner so gentle that nought to them can be compared. Her brows are arched and black in hue, like the smoke of haze over mountains far. The glance of her eyes with their thousand expressions is like the crescent moon shining through mists. Her hair is black and set with a jewelled pin, not unlike willow branches in spring breeze intertwining. Her beauty was in all respects complete.) the younger child was called Teirei and was in his fifth year.

(So) *this rich man (Kansibyooo) had no lack of things in any way. One day, in his ~~der~~weening opulence he called the woman his wife to him. "Listen, wife; when a man prays for his after-life, it is in order to meet Miroku in Paradise. Now *while we own the Otoha (if we are blown upon by the breeze from this) pine, *should we grow old, if we are blown upon by its breezes, once more we shall become young and throughout the generations and ages to come

(surely old age will not come upon us, and since old age will not come upon us,) there will be no possibility of dying. In that case, what have I to do with praying for the life to come? Of all the ways of consolation, I think I will *amuse (console) myself by doing evil. (What say you?)" "There can be no doubt that *this (what you say) is true" she replied. *In doing wicked deeds unbounded was he. To copy those above is the act of those below, so the people of his household, his retainers and even those in the surrounding villages imitated the rich man (-). In doing wicked deeds pitiless he was. The pagodas and temples built long before he all burned down and destroyed. On great rivers he allowed no boats to ply, on small rivers he built no bridges; *Buddha's laws and priests (buddhist rites) he did not support; bestowing of alms he did not perform. If men were happy he hated it, their unhappiness he rejoiced at, so that it came to be said that merciless indeed was Kansibyooe of the *village of Katabira in the province of Enda of Bisyari in (the land over against) Tenziku.

*At that time (Now) Buddha was an Dantoloka, and when he heard of these events he said "How pitiful! By their how difficult for men to *be led into (take on the colour of) righteousness! How easy for men into wickedness to fall! If this rich man be left *in his country (where he is), my creatures all around will be led into the devil's way.

*If this is the case, I must certainly put a stop to it here and now. (How can I get the Devil Kings to take him?) Then he makes his request to the Devil Kings of the Sixth Heaven.

*"How now, Devil Kings, put a stop to that rich man" he said and (-) They (acknowledge his word) and) dash off one and all and burst into the rich man's mansion. (They try all they can to circumvent him) but forth come *those (the devil-quelling) swords and*slash all around with the utmost zeal (heavenward and earthward they slash and in the four directions). Even the *Devil Kings of the (-) Sixth Heaven are outmatched by this and back they have to dash one and all. Buddha, *seeing (hearing) this *says "Things being as they are, I must make (makes) request to the Gods of Pestilence. They (, when he has told them the matter,) acknowledge his word, and the ninety and eight thousand Gods of Pestilence burst into the rich man's mansion, and try all they can to circumvent him; but forth *once again (-) come his *devil-quelling (-) swords and *heavenward and earthward they (-) slash *and in the four directions (around). The Gods of Pestilence (too) by this are overmatched and back they have to*go (dash, one and all). Buddha, seeing this *says "I must think out some way and tell them how to make that rich man suffer"and (-) summons to him his disciples; "You are to go to Hell and *swiftly(-) bring back the Demons with you." His disciples acknowledge his word and *of them those

called (ask who are to go.) Ananda, Kasyapa, Subhuti and Madgalyana,*being (." They are) of course not earthly men *but having magical powers (-) and they speed *to Hell (there) in a moment of time. "*O, Demons, it is the word of Buddha, come quickly" they said and, acknowledging his word, the Demons of fearsome kinds and fearsome shapes, *Demons ox-headed and horse-headed called Avoraksas, bearing equipment of all sorts, (-) clapping to their shoulders swords, *two-pronged spears, halberds (-) and iron staves, three hundred and more *come (ride) up (on horseback). Seeing this Buddha says "*The reason why I have summoned you here is no other than this. The rich man whom you can see yonder you must take and kill and cause to suffer because he is so merciless. (It is that rich man yonder who, because he is so merciless, must be made to suffer)" Acknowledging his word, the three hundred or more Demons dash off one and all and burst in*to the rich man's mansion (-) and set about him. Now once more forth come *the devil-quelling (these) swords against them, and *slash all around with the utmost zeal. (heavenward and earthward they slash and in the four directions. The Demons, outmatched by this, are retreating when) one *of their number (-) called Great Fire shoots flames from his hands, seizes hold of the swords which turn to vapour (and are gone). The *many (seven) precious things have *become (vanished) like foam. The Demons are delighted and the attendants *one and all they bite and wrench

asunder (they rend and tear and wrench and kill). The rich man and his wife they *do not kill straight away (capture alive)*but (and) heating iron till it boils, pour it into their mouths. Their five organs are burned away and their six viscera and down for the Mara path straight away they have dropped (them). (They were about to kill the children but) Buddha, seeing this, says "*Do not kill the two children;(-) I have some purpose for them ; spare their lives. They acknowledge his word (and spare them), and back they go, direct to Hell. *At all events, there is nothing to which one can compare the sadness in the hearts of the brother and sister (How pitiable was the manner of Kansibyooe's end, there are no words to say).

II

To proceed, those who have been left in a pitiable state are the children, brother and sister, and they are pitiable in every way. Now, suddenly bereft of both father and mother, *with no way of staying alive, the sister took her brother's hand, the brother clung to his sister (persons to care for them are there none). So, setting out for nearby villages, *with outstretched hands they started to beg (pitiable to see, with outstretched hands they beg). The villagers say "*Look at this one and look at that (See that now)! *Those who (-) until yesterday (they) were called the rich man's children, (but) today *have suffered a change from yesterday (a change has come upon them) and they are begging. What a pitiable thing! But thought they are six and four years old, and are bereft of father and mother, they have been rejected by all the buddhas of the three existences (and so they are accursed). *They are ill-omened, let them not approach our houses (-), let them not stand at our doors, (let them not within). *Do what they may, they were not let into houses, so when the children heard this they went away whence they had come (O piteous spectacle, brother and sister despondently go back to the empty river beach). *Some times they went off to desert places, and (-) at other times, (this is what they do) *they take refuge 'neath miscanthus grass and a shelter it was for them who had no shelter (in the very miscanthus grass they make their lodging) and thus they passed the fruitless days and months.

How sad at heart they are! *As they had nothing to eat they went into the marshes and moors and plucked the parsley, into the village fields and gathered fallen rice-ears, and thus they passed their transient life (-). Rarely are they visited and then, it's only dogs barking that live in the wilds. One day her brother (Teirei) *called his sister Tenzyu to him (th Lady Tenzyu turned)

"*I have something to say, o elder sister. It is better that I should speak so listen (-). I have heard that the way for men in this world to seek repose for *their parents (the dead) is to make a Dāna paramita offering, that is, on great rivers allowing boats to ply, on small rivers building bridges; *reading a thousand sutras, reading tenthousand sutras (-), erecting temples and constructing pagodas, *giving praise to Buddha for forty-eight days (-), and thus to seek repose for*our father and mother (them).*O what misery!

(-) What can we do to seek repose for *our parents (them).

*I remember that this year is the seventh anniversary of our father's death. Come, we should go no matter where, and, be it even for feeding eagles or feeding hawks, sell the flesh of our bodies, and thus pay for prayers for their repose. What say you, sister mine? (-)". Thus did he exhort (and he wept). *Tenzyu (The maiden) in reply thus speaks

"How gentle, how grown-up a child! When it was due to me to make such a suggestion, truly does he show thus his manhood. *Come, let us go no matter where and (That being so) let us

sell ourselves; *thus should we seek repose for our father and mother (-)." *They left the place they were in, taking each the other's hand, lying at times in fields and making the mountains their dwelling, and after much travelling, in the ninth month they reached (Then they go to) the land of Haranai, *the county of Arara (-), famous in Tenziku. In all this *county of Arara (land of Haranai) there are *forty (eighty) thousand dwellings. In the sister's voice the cry "Come buy me"; in the brother's voice the cry "Come buy me" is raised but there is none who will *come out and (-) buy. *When they looked around them they saw there was a large Amida temple and before it (Thereupon, at a place where) a clear waterfall flowed down. The sister and brother purified themselves *in this waterfall (-) and composed the following poem

'The morning glory's
flower of a sudden
fades and dies.
Left on the leaf
how sad the dew!"

*Then weeping (now) they go to *the (a) temple. *Harmoniously they strike the gong at the entrance. "Praise to Amida of the Western Paradise. (-) We *who are here (-) are selling ourselves *to pray for the repose of our father and mother (for our parents' sake). We beg you, should there be one in this region who would buy us, please take us to meet him." They spent the night in the temple, engaged in fervent prayer. *Sure enough, about the middle watch of the

night (-), in his graciousness the *Buddha (Protector),
 *brilliant with eight thousand four hundred lights (-) comes
 and stands at their pillow."*O gentle children, how pitiable
 that you should sell yourselves to seek your parents'
 repose! However in this place there is none who will buy you.
 If you go from here, deep into the midst of the mountains,
 (-) in a place called *Oki village in Yume province (Muga
Zyoodo), there is a very rich man, his name Lord Daiman. He
 will buy you." (He vouchsafed these words in a loud voice and
 from above to below, from below to above, twice, thrice, four
 times, five times (-) he caressed them (two or three times)
 and then disappeared as if a light had been blown out.
 *They shortly awoke from their dream. (The brother and sister,
on waking from their dream, express their thanks, and hasten
to follow his directions. How pitiable is their state, there
are no words to say.)

(III)¹

After that, brother and sister hurry off, following Amida's directions. Now it happened at that time, at a place called Okinogoo, there was another wealthy man, whose name was Gendabyooe, and he often said that he would have as son-in-law Sir Matuwaka, son of Lord Daiman. However his overlord, the same Lord Daiman, refuses his consent, so Genda is exceedingly angry. He calls to him his chief retainer, Kagetu no Ziroo, tells him the gist of all that has happened, and asks him how he should act. Kagetu acknowledges his word and replies "This is truly an ill ~~aaa~~ affair. You should appoint me your general. We shall take your enemies' heads, and obtain satisfaction." Genda replies joyfully "Well said. Confront them then." And at the head of some three hundred cavalry he suddenly marches against Daiman. E'en from three sides he hems him in and shouts his warcry loud; and when the warcry's died away, Seika, Captain of Horse of the Left, and Tooboku, Lieutenant of Horse of the Right, two brother's in the lord's household, climb up on the front towers and shout "Unmannerly, whoever you are. We'll have you declare your name." Thereupon Kagetu, making a great din, cries out in a loud voice "The general who has now come to this place is I, Kagetu no Ziroo, of the household of Gendabyooe. To put it shortly, I've

1. Has no counterpart in 'Munewari'; section IV of 'Amida no Munewari' includes story of sections III and IV of 'Munewari'.

come here against you to obtain satisfaction for him. Your lord should cut his belly open immediately." The brothers, hearing this, say, "What remarkable balderdash! Let's show him what we can do." They mightily cut a way into the host and fight as if their end has come. These two, with no one to assist, cut down as many as fifty of the cavalry, all good soldiers. The remaining rascals they scatter and pursue in all directions. When Kagetu sees this he thinks "This is indeed a tragic occasion. I shall have to make another attempt to obtain satisfaction." But as towards his own country he flees, the two warriors go after him and, his hands tied tight behind his back, they bring him before their lord. Then Kagetu speaks to himself in this wise "Ah, what bitterness! This is my plight now, but after my death I shall become the roaring thunder, and in the end I shall obtain satisfaction" and with burning eyes wide open, with hatred he glares on Daiman, who, seeing this, says "Don't talk so foolishly" and when, forthwith, they strike off his head, it rises heavenwards. Everyone gaped in amazement. At all events, how Kagetu no Zi-roo's fate struck terror, there are no words to say.)

III

Well now, after that, the two children, brother and sister, in their gratitude, offered up worship thirty three times and when the dawn came stealing up the sky they left,

with tears, the temple of Amida, and their former travel weariness had gone. The rich man Daiman had one lordling of twelve years. He was stricken with a mysterious illness and was suffering as though any moment might be his last. The rich man grieved and summoned to him an ascete from inside Tenziku. "How now, Sir Hermit, what is the name of this child's illness? What the medicine for it? Divine well, I beg thee, Sir Hermit" said he. The hermit, hearing this, since he was of course skilful in divining, swiftly set up eighty-one divining sticks on the sixty-one almanac¹. When one by one he had recorded the circumstances, he exclaimed "See what a curious omen; I must tell it that you may hear. If you buy a young maiden of the same age and the same nativity, take out the liver from her living body, purify it by washing it seventy-five times in life-prolonging wine, and give it to him as medicine, the illness will be cured without delay, my lord." When the rich man heard this he said, "Why, this is an easy thing" and he erected written notices on the mountains of Tenziku. On these notices "If there be any maidens in their twelfth year, they will be bought with no haggling over the price" - these were the words that were written. As it was in Tenziku, in accordance with the

1. The 'sixty-one almanac' is a mystery. A normal almanac could have sixty divisions, according to the sexagenary calendar system. Perhaps the marvellous land of Tenziku goes one better and has an almanac with sixty-one units.

notice there came clamouring "I'm twelve, I'm twelve!" three hundred and fifty or more maidens of the same age. When the rich man heard of this, they were conducted into an inner room, brought before him and questioned; yet of the maidens with an age of the same twelve, some were born in different months; if the day was identical, some there were with different hours, and in the end there was not one single maiden with the same nativity. All of them returned to their dwellings.

(IV)

To proceed, though Lord Daiman had conquered in battle,
his only child, Sir Matuwaka, was stricken with a mysterious
illness and was lying on his bed as though any moment might
be his last. His father and mother are in distress. They
gather skilled men from throughout Tenziku, they worship
Taiz¹an Bukun, but still no sign is given, and so they say
"Summon a learned diviner and have him make a divination" and
he comes into their presence. Daiman looks upon him and asks
'What is the illness that Matuwaka is suffering from? How
should it be treated?'. The learned diviner acknowledges his
word and swiftly sets up eighty-three divination sticks on
a sixty-one almanac. "See, what a curious configuration!
This illness is not an illness that one usually comes up
against. In Tenziku it is called the Hisui disease, in
China, the disease of the five declines, in Japan, the disease

of the three ailments, a disease hated by men. For this disease there is no medicine; prayers and exorcisms are of no avail. But what is extraordinary about this disease is that if you buy a maiden of the same nativity as Sir Matuwaka, take the liver from her living body, purify it by washing it seventy-five times in life-prolonging wine, and administer it, the illness will be cured" he says.

The lord rejoices greatly, and, as a reward for the time being, gives him a hundred packets of gold dust and a thousand pieces of rolled silk. The diviner expresses his humble thanks and returns to his dwelling. Thereupon the lord decides that, in these straits, he will put up notices. On all these notices, the words "Wanted to buy, maidens of twelve. No haggling over prices." were written, and they were posted all over the mountains of Tenziku; so in time maidens came, clamouring 'I am twelve', as many as three hundred in number, as this was in Tenziku. They were all taken before the lord and questioned, but even if the year were the same, there were some in a different month, and some whose day was wrong - finally there was not one maiden whose nativity was the same as Matuwaka's. They were all sent away despondent, and returned to their dwellings.)

IV (continuation of IV)

*Well after that, on this occasion too, (Now, leaving that aside) those who were left in a pitiable state are the brother and sister, and they were pitiable in every way.

*As soon as dawn broke, the sister called her brother to her "I have something to say Teirei. Come, let us follow Amida's directions and go sell ourselves" she said and hand in hand they left the place they were in. They came to the mansion of Lord Daiman and cried (Should you ask why this is so, it is that, in their search following the directions of the buddha, they were crying, near the gate of Lord Daiman), in the sister's voice "Person for sale" and in the brother's voice, "Come buy me." *The rich man sends out women from within; they come out and meet them and conduct them to an inner room where (At that very moment, Daiman hears them; into a guest room does he invite them, while) delicacies from sea and mountain and fruits of the country are placed before them and wines of all kinds offered to them. *After a while the rich man thinks he will take a look at them and goes waveringly even to the inner chamber; he sees there a maiden such that the room around is set aglow. "O beautiful maiden, why, why do you come to be selling yourself? How old are you, what your country, from what sort of family?" he asked. (Daiman asks them "From what country are you? Why do you wish to sell yourselves? Please tell me!") The maiden in reply says "We were formerly of the land of Bisyari, the county of Enda, the village of Katabira,*the children of a man low in the world (-), but when we were mere infants we were bereft of our father and mother. *We want offerings made for the peace of their souls, but as t

there are none but us to pray for them (But as there is no way for us to make offerings for their souls) we are selling ourselves. *I am in my twelfth year (-), buy me and use me, even as a scullion, my lord". The rich man listened to her. "So, in your twelfth year, are you? In what year and what month, on what day and at what time were you born? (On what day and at what time were you born? How old are you?)" he asked. The maiden in reply said "You do indeed question me closely (-). I was born in the year of the water and the bird, *in the third month, on the sixth day, at the time of the dragon, at the minute of the dragon (early on the day of the dragon). The rich man hears this and thinks "*How pleased I am. Our Matuwaka was born in the year of the water and the bird, on the sixth day of the third month, at the minute of the dragon. (She has the same nativity as my son Matuwaka) I should like to buy her and use her to cure him." *He went within and called the woman his wife to him. "Now wife, listen to what I have to say. The maiden who came here just now is of the same nativity. Go out and see her; by this means or that we should buy her" he said. "I hear your words" she replied and went to the inner chamber. She saw there a maiden such that the room around was set aglow. "Oh what a beautiful maiden! This is not merely a person such as one usually finds in this world; she is a god or a buddha appearing as a maiden (-). *If we were to buy her and (If I were to) kill her without telling her, heaven's hatred would be deep. *We must tell her a little about it so that she may

know." (The only thing is to tell her about it.) So he summoned his lady wife to him and told her what he thought. She was of the opinion that he was acting rightly. So he summoned the maiden) "I have something to say, o maiden (Now listen to what I have to say. The reason for my buying you is no other than this). We have one child, a son, but he is *stricken with illness and is (-) afflicted even unto death. In my grief as a parent I have gathered together skilful men from throughout Tenziku. I have worshipped Taizan Buku¹, but as yet it has been of no avail. *From one place I summoned a trustworthy diviner, and when he had read the divination he told how if I bought a maiden of the same nativity, took out the liver from her living body, purified it by washing it seventy-five times in life-prolonging wine, and gave it to him the illness would be cured. When I heard this I said "Why this is an **easy** thing " and (So) I erected notices on the mountains of Tenziku. *As it was in Tenziku, three hundred and fifty and more maidens of the same age came clamouring "I am twelve, I am twelve." (Then saying "The young lord is twelve, I am twelve too" there came some three hundred maidens). *When I brought them together and examined them carefully (I examined them) *even if they were in their twelfth year, some there were born in different months. If the months were identical, there were some with different hours, and in the end there was not a single maiden (but they were not) of the same nativity. *Now you

1. also Taizan Bukun. A chinese god to whom prayers were offered for longlife.

are of the same nativity in year, month and day (With you there is no difference at all, of month, day or hour). *If (-) I should (like to) buy you, *I should certainly (and, horrible though it be) take the liver from your living body. If you should think that you cannot bear to lose your lif, orresent what I propose, I shall be powerless and you may depart at once, no matter where, o (wandering) maiden!" he said, (and w wept bitterly). (Attentively) the maiden listened but answered not a word. *She threw herself upon the ground and wept bitterly (Her tears fell like rain). *After a while (Then, from beneath her tears) she said "My lord and my lady, I am not weeping because I value my life. (Though I have no thought of saving my life for my own sake) Ever since *this child (my brother) was five and I was seven, *when we were separated from our father and mother, elder sister depending on younger brother, younger brother on elder sister (we have depended upon one another and) we have had the fields as our *impermanent (-)ldwelling. If I were to give you my life*this very evening (-),*from tomorrow who would be his sister (-), who would bring up that boy? *Thoughts of his state of woe (That is the thought that) gives me another reason for tears." (Thus she spoke, pleadingly.) *She raised her sleeve to her face and wept copiously. The rich man and his wife said that she was indeed right, that what she said was true, and with hers let flow their tears (What compassion is aroused by the love of the brother and sister, there are no words to say).

*Well, (-) after that (what a terrible strait) the lady Tenzyu, in an interval of sobbing, said "I will make a bargain with my body. See now, if I were going to live on, even *silver and gold (gold and silver) would be my desire, but as I am not to live, *I do not wish for many treasures (even many treasures would be nothing). However * for the sake of my parents' repose (since it is for my parents' sake) if *with a fitting amount of money (-) you build a *shining (golden) temple, each of its four sides seven bays long, and provide a triple stature of Amida as its main image, *willingly (-) I shall give you my liver from my living body, *my lord(-)!" The rich man, on hearing this, said "That is an easy matter." *He brought together the hired carpenters of Tenziku and (-) in the space of twenty-one days he built a shining temple, each of its four sides seven bays long, and presented it to the lady Tenziku.

The maiden*gazed upon it and said"(was exceedingly glad. "How happy I am.) Now there is nothing for me to *think of (regret when I go) save only that I shall think of the boy. *This will haunt me in the underworld (-). I shall give him to you, my lord. If you think fit, consider him as an attendant on Sir Matuwaka; if not, *think of him as (let him be made) a sweeper in your garden; *please take good care of him (-) o my lord."

The rich man, hearing this, said "(in a kindly way,

"Set your heart at rest.) Fortunately I *have no children after (too have a child to care for, and I have no other than) Matuwaka. I *shall think of him as (make him) Matuwaka's younger brother, and divide even my wealth into *half for each and hand it ~~down~~ to them, o maiden (two and give him half). *Tenzyu replied "(The maiden was greatly pleased, "How happy I am) Now there will be nothing to *think of.(regret when I go" she said)" and (leaving his presence) she went (away, even) to the temple. (When she came to the temple, straightway she pushed aside the screen) "Hear me, threefold Amida, (Buddha of the Western Paradise). In exchange for my life I have built this temple and present it to you. Though their sins were grievous, through the virtue of this prayer (allow my father and mother to become buddhas) rescue and place them on jewelled calyxes in the highest state of the highest paradise, *on one lotus pedestal (-)." *She took out the Lotus sutra and when she read five rolls it was for her father, when she read the sixth roll it was for her mother, when she read the seventh roll it was for her brother Teirei for his repose when he came to die, when she read the eighth roll, it was for herself that she recited the scriptures. Then (Thus she prayed, but) her brother Teirei *came up to her side, and his pleading was pitiful to hear (said) "*I have something to say (-) sister (o my sister), when we left our home, it was with the aim of selling ourselves together to make offerings for the repose of the

souls of our parents, but now that *you (we) have come to this *unknown (out of the way) foreign place (and you've sold yourself) and had*a great (this) temple built and offered up your prayers, I am envious of you; why did not you sell *us together (me too)? *Oh, how envious I am, sister" (-) and he wept*without restraint (-). *Tenzyu (The maiden) *at these words thought that if she ~~should~~ say that she had not sold her body but had exchanged her life, he would lament and beg to go with her no matter where, and how pitiable that would be. Perhaps it would be better to conceal the truth for a while, she thought and (pitying him for his grief which would make him ask her to sell him if she said she had sold herself) replied "Come Teirei,*listen to me (I haven't sold myself but) my lord has thought ~~my~~ face beautiful and has taken me as wife. *He has given me great wealth with which I have built this temple as an offering (-). So will you please become a priest in *the (this) temple, *pluck sweet-smelling flowers (-), and seek *long (urgently) for enlightenment *Teirei (-)." "*Since he was a mere child and ignorant of everything, he thought this was the truth and (Teirei, his young heart trusting in his sister's love) pillowed his head on his sister's knee and lay there conscious of nothing; what a pitiful sight ! The maiden *Tenzyu (-), smoothed *the (his) wayward locks *of her brother as he lay there (-) and*spoke soothingly to him. "How pitiful!. Ever since I was seven and this child was five,

after being separated from Father and Mother, the elder sister has relied on her brother, and younger brother on sister, and if for only a moment I thought that I had exposed him to a rough wind, I drew him to me and dressed his hair; in one day I dressed it sometimes five times, but never less than three. This evening I am giving away my life and then from tomorrow who will be his sister and dress his hair, the poor child?. As she spoke once more she put her sleeve up to her face, and wept without restraint. (said 'Indeed you are to be pitied, my younger brother' and wept and wept. What compassion is aroused by the love they had for each other, there are no words to say.)

VI

Well, after that, when the next dawn was already breaking, in the house of the rich man Matuwaka's illness grew worse. The rich man called five fierce warriors. "O warriors, go to the temple and take out the maiden's liver" he ordered. "Very good, my lord". "This is the way to do it, warriors. Wrap a cloth round your dagger, plunge it in my left side, and cut swiftly round to the right; my liver will give you no trouble". Thus she spoke to them. "Very good, my lady" they said, and following the maiden's instructions they wrapped cloth round their dagger, cut swiftly round to the right, and thus took out her liver; then they returned to the rich man's house. Following the wise man's directions, he purified it by washing it seventy-five times in life-prolonging wine and administered it. Sir Matuwaka was cured of his illness and at midnight on that night sprang from his bed. Daiman said "Since things have turned out well, come, let us look at her corpse" he said and they went to the temple to look. They saw that the sister held the brother in her arms and the brother held his sister in his arms and they were lying there, conscious of nothing. He went up to the temple, opened the sanctuary, and looked within; the middle one of the three images, the chief Buddha, had his chest cut open, and a scarlet stream of steaming blood flowed down. The rich man's saw this and exclaimed "Look at that! Those who act filially to their parents win compassion from all the Buddhas of the three existences, and one has come to

take her place; so all put your hands together, and praise him, praise him!" And there was not one who did not give him praise. The rich man said "Whither should I send so blessed a maiden as this!" and he took her as a daughter-in-law and as Matuwaka's lady. Her brother Teirei achieved priesthood in this temple. As it was an event the like of which is but rarely seen, there was no man who did not praise him.

(After that, as Matuwaka's illness grew worse and worse, Lord Daiman summoned one of his warriors and commanded him, "Go to the temple and, cruel though it be, take the liver from her living body and bring it back to me."

"Very good, my lord." he replied, and hurried off to the temple. "Come now, come, my lady! In truth this deed would be most unfitting in this place, so quickly, quickly, come outside." When she heard this the maiden gasped and forth she went. In the darkness of the night, was it Lady Tenzyu's form that was shining, or the reflection from the temple? - for all around was suddenly lit up. The warrior gazed upon her. "She is so beautiful a maiden: where can I thrust my sword in her?" he said, and stood there, weeping loudly. The maiden looked at him and said "Do not grieve so! You will make me weep too. It is really myself who am giving up my life, for the good of my parents, and I set it at no more value than dust or dew. But we are at the temple -

let us go to the house below" and down they went to the foot
of the hill. When they had reached it, she faced the West
and joined her hands and prayed. "O Amida Buddha of the
Western Paradise, though their sins were grievous, rescue
my parents and place them on jewelled lotuses in the highest
state of the highest Paradise." And she recited the four
gāthās: "all earthly things are transient; it is Buddha's
rule that this life should be destroyed; life and death
are meaningless; to die calmly brings peace." Saying,
"Come, sir warrior, to take a woman's liver is a serious
undertaking; if you don't know how to do it, I must show
you." She took his dagger and plunged it into her side
and swiftly cut round to the right. Then the warrior,
though with pity in his heart, took out her liver soaked
with streams of blood, and gave it to the Lord Daiman.
He was overjoyed, and purified it by washing it seventy-five
times in life-prolonging wine and to Sir Matuwaka did he
give it.

Thereupon, mysterious sight to see, Sir Matuwaka,
at midnight on that night, sprang from his bed. Daiman was
greatly pleased. "In spite of this, the maiden's resolution
arouses compassion. Come, I will bury her remains" and off
he went to the foot of the hill. He looked all around, but
no corpse was there there; all that was left of it was a
red pool of blood. "Most mysterious" he thought. When to
the temple he went and looked, the sister was there, with

her hand resting on her brother, and the brother with his
head pillowed on his sister had fallen asleep, conscious of
nothing. Daiman gazed upon them and pondered upon the
mystery of it. He opened the screen and looked within and
lo, on the central figure of Amida, from the breast to above
the knee, down there ran a red stream of blood. Daiman saw
this and said "He appeared in the maiden's stead, praise him,
praise him" and bowed low before him in return for this
great boon. Then the maiden arose and said "I thought to
give my life, but put your body in place of mine, o what a
boon!" and she prostrated herself and worshipped him.
The lord spoke "Whither should I send so blessed a maiden
as this?" Before long, o happy event!, the lord took her
as daughter-in-law. While, through the merits of Lady
Tenzyu, the rich man her father, and her mother floated
higher and higher, and flowers scented with strange perfume
came down; how grateful they were, there are no words to
say.

So Teirei finally became a monk. One name of the
temple was Heian, another Suiko. The great teacher Syootoo
recorded this in China, as proof of the existence of the
Pure Land. There is erected a statue there, called Amida of
the riven breast. In days of old, at that time too,
and in the days to come, it was a thing the like of which
has been but rarely seen, and there was not a man who was
not moved by it.

The first comment that may be made is that both versions have some of the characteristics that were to remain those of a zyooruri text. The most obvious of these is that it is a piece of continuous narrative, comprising both descriptive passages and speech. In this it shows its derivation from the historical romances of earlier periods, written to be recited with no other aids than a possible musical accompaniment. When puppets were added to the performance, these characteristics did not change, and the reciter's work was essentially what it had always been and what it was to remain. That is, on him fell the responsibility not only of speaking the words, but also of setting the scene and commenting upon the action.

The crudities of the originals are obvious, not only in matters of style, but also in their unreal setting in which the land of Tenziku (corresponding generally to India) is largely a land of fantasy - its rich men have magic possessions, young girls are eager to sell themselves - yet sometimes it is no different from Japan, with its temples, its popular Amidism, and its poetry, with a scene of wandering through an inhospitable countryside borrowed from the adventures of Prince Ootoo in 'Taiheiki' (Daniels p. 139).

These remarks apply more to 'Munewari' than to the later text, but this, too, has not advanced far along the road to sophistication. This is no doubt due at least in part to the fact that the play is entirely conceived as a piece for the puppet theatre. A comparison between 'Munewari'

and other early pieces already mentioned indicates the new techniques that were required in a narrative performance to make it suitable for the puppet theatre. There are no literary embellishments of the sort that are found in the Zyooruri story, or to a lesser degree in 'Takadati', the puppet version of which, of course, omits the mitiyuki of the mai no hon. All is simple narrative, with clearly described backgrounds, with characters identified as they make their entrances, and with scenes of violence and activity, as exemplified by the struggle between Buddha's emissaries and the rich couple with their magical protectors. Such scenes are not found, it is needless to say, ^{for the first time} in the puppet theatre, but their presence in 'Munewari' seems to show that their possibilities were quickly realised and exploited, though in a relatively small way in comparison with later developments.

If one examines the differences between the two versions, one can see this tendency developing further, especially in the inclusion in section III of the later one of fighting between warriors, with the final scene of the severed head flying up to heaven presumably utilising a stage device easily arranged on the puppet stage. Such scenes of ferocity and violence became popular during the course of the century, as will be shown later.

The considerable difference between the lengths of sections III and VI of 'Munewari', and the corresponding

passages in 'Amida no Munewari' is probably due to the above-mentioned recarving of the last pages of the two volumes of the former. The recarved passages correspond almost exactly to sections III and VI and they are noticeably shorter than the others. It is probable that they represent only a summary version of the original sections, prepared when the reprinting took place. It would therefore be unwise to suggest that the more elaborate corresponding passages in the later text are anything other than the full text as it once existed even in 'Munewari'. Nevertheless, in other places some elaboration seems certainly to have occurred. Perhaps the most noticeable of these is in section I, where there is a new passage describing the Lady Tenzyu's beauty. This is almost in the poetical style of the Zyooruri story, and its inclusion might possibly indicate the growing sophistication of those who went to see the puppet drama. The general trend during the seventeenth century in zyooruri writing is that there was in the first case a shift from the elaborate language of the pieces adapted from earlier literature, to the simplicity of the specially-written plays. This simplicity was gradually replaced by a new growth of sophistication and artistic writing that was to reach its peak in the writers of the end of the century. Along with this elaboration (of which perhaps only the germ is here, seeing that it is impossible to argue from sections III and VI of 'Munewari') there has also arisen a tendency towards

formalised beginnings and endings of sections. The later version has a moralising opening, of the sort which was to become common, but more noticeable is the repetition of the phrase 'moosu bakari wa nakarikeri' - 'there are no words to say' - , with only an occasional variation of verb-form, at the end of each of the first five sections, and nearly at the end of the sixth. This phrase, sometimes replaced by the one that ends the play 'mina kanzeno hito koso nakarikeri' - 'there was not a man whos was not moved by it'- or a very close variant of it, such as replacing hito by mono, became almost as necessary a termination of a section in the old zyooruri as 'Sate mo sono noti' - 'Well now, to proceed' - was at its beginning. The procedure among chanters today is to begin their recitations with a short section in which the melody is the same whatever the piece (unless they start at the very beginning of a play) and, similarly, at the end of their recitation there is another melody that is used whatever the text. The matter is complicated nowadays by the custom of seldom playing a whole play, but only excerpts from it, and even then such an excerpt is rarely chanted right through by the same man, a further twist being that each does not quite finish the text of his piece, but leaves a few words for the next chanter to utter before his piece proper starts. In spite of these differences, it may be presumed that these fixed phrases in old zyooruri were sung with fixed melodies, and that thus a clearly-defined begin ning and end was given to a section.

This helped, perhaps, to emphasize its unity, and, incidentally, at the end of a section, gave the audience and assistants a clue to when they could expect an interval. At the beginning it also allowed a moment during which it was recognised that the words recited were of no importance since everybody had heard them before, so that the audience could compose itself before the important part came along.

A comparison with what happens today may also help to discover the means by which the changes between the two versions came about. The chanter is always considered the most important performer in a puppet play, and he tends to decide upon variations in the text. There are frequent omissions and even additions according to the fancy of the chanter, and even in later zyooruri, where there is a well-established literary text, the performing version can be widely different from printed one. In old zyooruri authors are scarcely ever mentioned, and the text of a play is considered as belonging to the chanter. When the text was printed, it appeared, as we have already seen, as a certified correct copy. But any chanter would be able to make what alterations he thought fit, when he took over a play from somebody else and in this way a text could easily develop with the changing tastes of the audiences.

B. Old zyooruri.

(6) The puppets and their theatre.

The best evidence for the type of theatre and puppets used in connection with the old zyooruri is, as Japanese commentators have long realised, in contemporary illustrations. In addition to these there are a few descriptions by diarists and the like, which do not, however, give a detailed picture. In this chapter the intention is to piece together from these sources what the theatre building, the stage and the puppets with their mechanisms were like.

(a) The theatre.

The traditional accounts of the origins of zyooruri, as exemplified by 'Seikyoku ruisan' locate the first puppet theatre, as distinct from portable equipment carried by travelling companies, at Sizyoo-gawara, the area of the bank of the Kamo river in Kyoto near to its crossing by the Fourth Street. We need have no doubts about this, for the early history of the live, kabuki, theatre also centres on this district, which was an area in which entertainments of all kinds were to be found. Riverbanks had no permanent building on them because of their liability to flooding and had become the haunt of vagrants and outcasts. Entertainers came within these categories, and it was only natural that the theatre quarter of Kyoto should arise at Sizyoo-gawara. In 'Seikyoku ruisan' are two line drawings

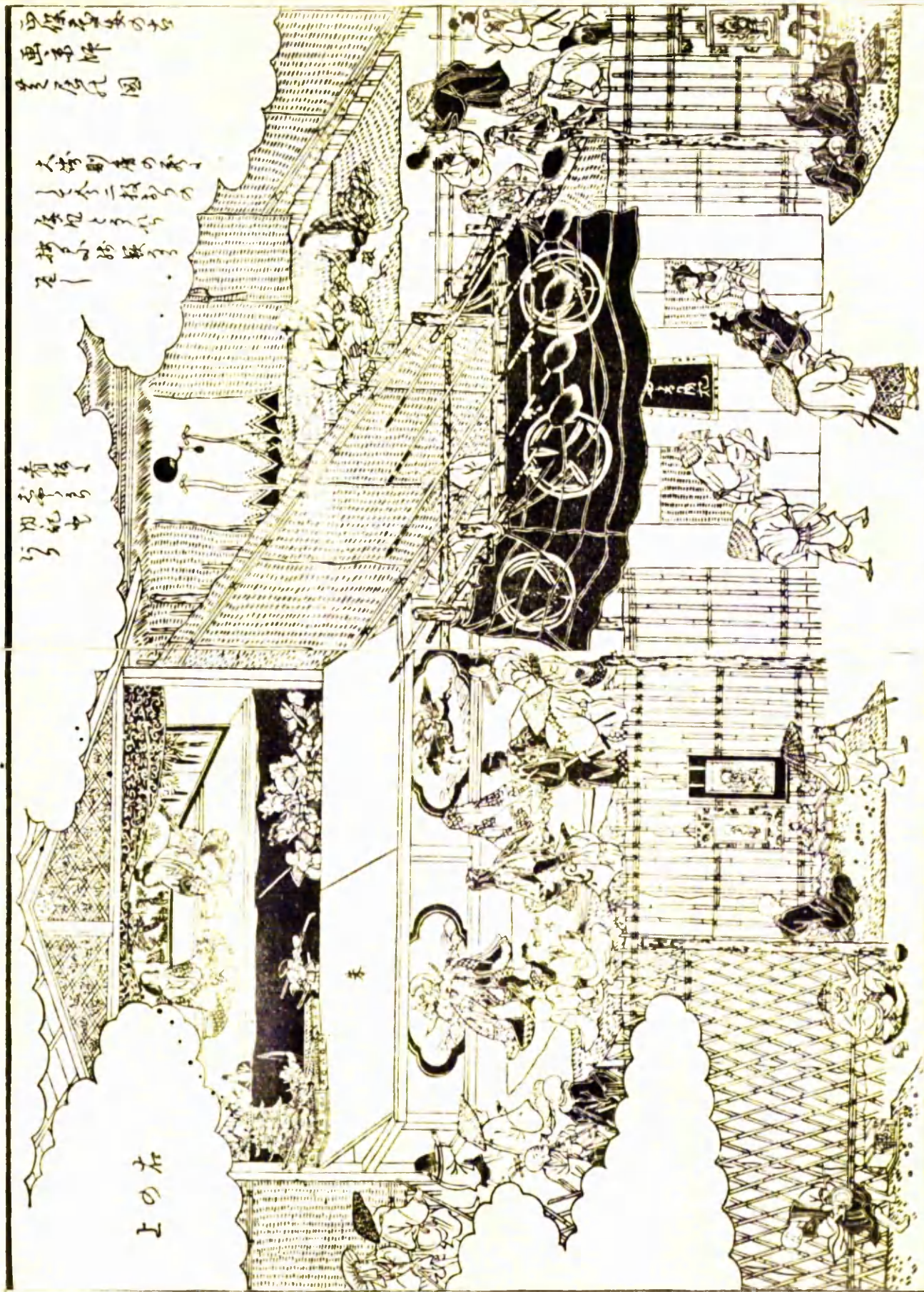
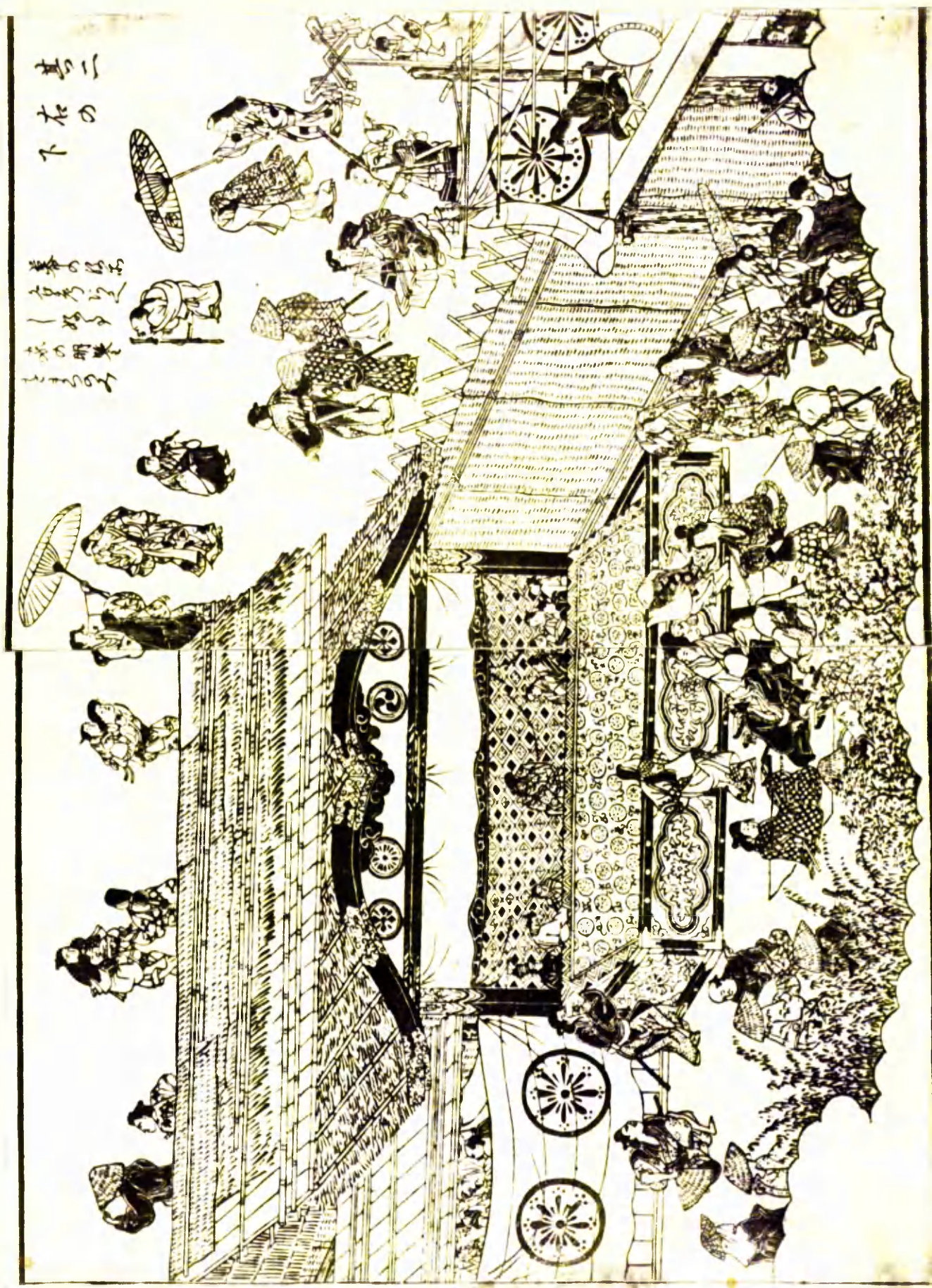


Illustration B Early puppet theatre in Kyoto (see p 95)

(DNS p. 726-7)

(see p. 95)



其二
下右の

幕の始
市考ら
しぬふ
家の明
とまふ

Illustration B Early puppet theatre in Kyoto

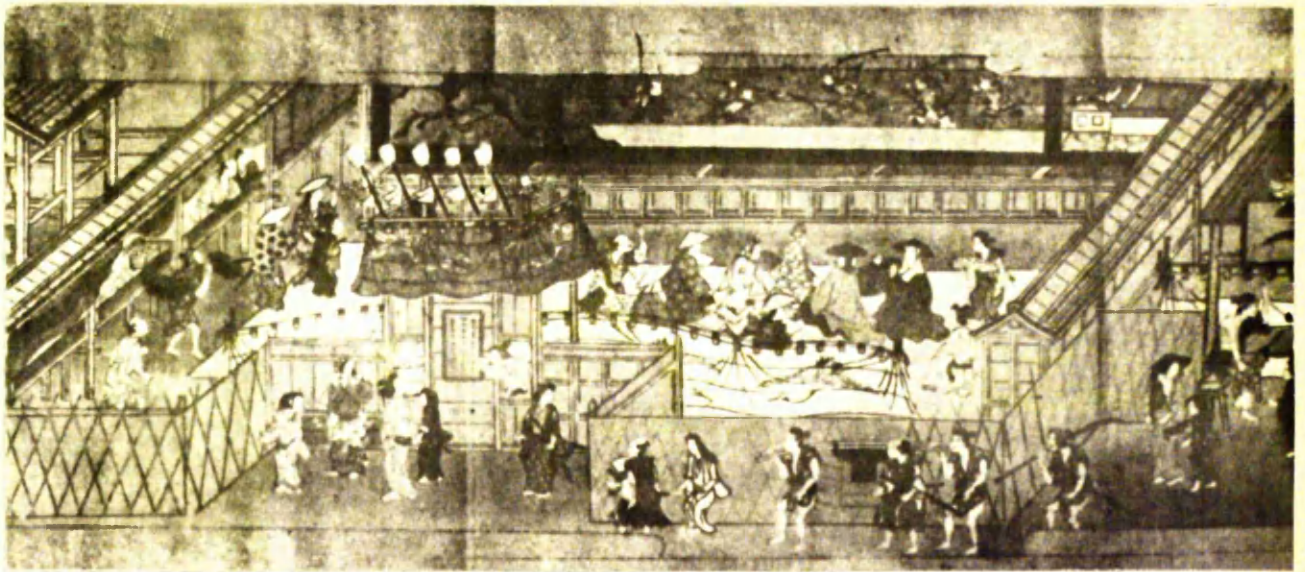


Illustration C Early puppet theatre showing roofed side-walls
(see p. 95) (NEZ p. 36)

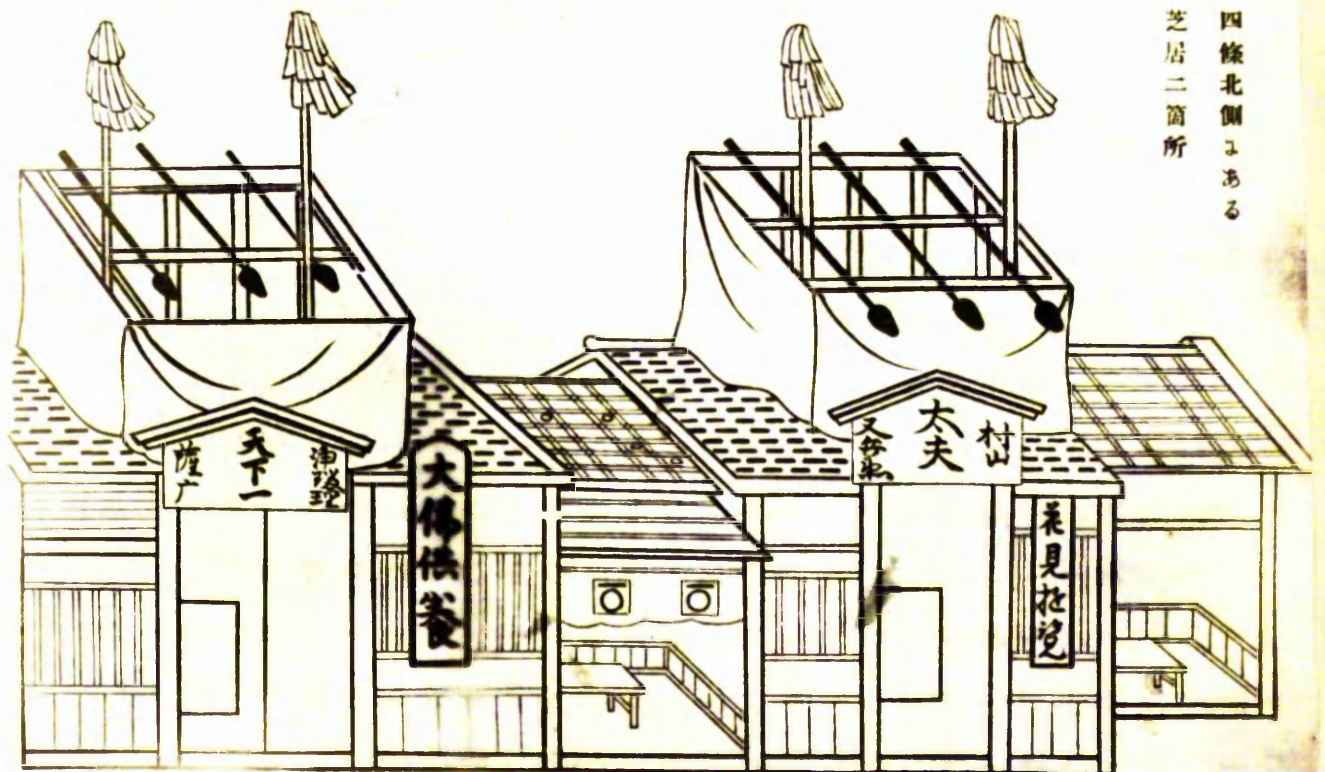


Illustration D Entrances to puppet theatres (see p. 96) (DWS p. 776)

from which copies are reproduced here (illustrations A and B) taken from DNS p.724-727. It happens that illustration 489 in volume 8 of 'Zusetu Nihon bunkasi taikēi' bears a photograph of a painted screen, in two panels, the righthand one of which has what appear to be the originals of these line drawings. Illustration A is copied from the top half of the panel, and B from the lower half. Two photographs of the same panel are also to be found as illustrations 110 and 111 in NEZ. These photographic reproductions are considerably less clear than the line drawings, but they are very useful in that they establish the accuracy of them.

The screen is not dated, and Japanese commentators rely on the evidence of the illustration for this purpose. 'Seikyoku ruisan' suggests a date of about 1650, but Wakatuki (Zy p.77) thinks this is too late and would place it in the 1620's. The illustrations, which are presumably of Sizyoo-gawara in Kyoto, are of special value in that they show not only the puppets and their staging, but also the whole area of the theatre. In both cases the enclosure is bounded by a fence of straw mats supported by bamboo poles either set vertically or arranged in a diagonal trellis work. This would seem to indicate an early date. A comparison can be made with a reproduction (illustration C) of another painting in which the front fence is still of the same simple construction but where the sides of the enclosure are fences with a roof, beneath which spectators could shelter. This

would seem to be a somewhat later development. Still later, as a votive picture (illustration D) in the Gion shrine in Kyooto, dated 1676, indicates, the front wall of the enclosure was replaced by teashops, through which one entered the theatre behind.

In fact, the erections bounding the theatre enclosure are in no way different from those used in the early period of the kabuki theatre. The puppet theatre, too, had a yagura or watch-tower, consisting of a staging at the level of the top of the fence round the theatre, hung on the three external sides with cloth decorated with crests, and bearing an array of mop-like objects representing weapons. The yagura indicated that official permission had been given for the theatre to be set up (Ernst p.31). Beneath the yagura are the entrance and exit doors, kept small to ensure that only one person could pass at a time, to enable the management to control people going out and coming in and ensure that all paid.

Illustrations A and B indicate that the audience sat on straw mats on the ground, and one gathers the spectators were allowed to dispose themselves as they wished, there being no arrangement of seating. This, too, constitutes no difference from early kabuki.

(b) The stage

The stage, however, has obviously to be of an entirely different construction from that of the live theatre. The development of the latter, in its kabuki form, from that of the no plays, is not too difficult to follow. For the puppets, it seems, something quite new had to be evolved. As can be seen from the illustrations, this consisted of a rectangular structure covered by a sloping apron, attached to the front of a building which housed the stage proper. The puppets moved in the area directly behind this apron and in front of a curtain suspended behind the two square wooden pillars which supported the roof of the building at the front. In illustration B one can see that the building extends back for some way from the stage, and that there is also an extension to the audience left. This has a cloth screen bearing the same decoration as that on the yagura, and behind this screen one can catch a glimpse of heads of puppets and a man. The placing of the apron and curtains was clearly intended to allow the puppets to be seen by the audience, while concealing the manipulators, who, as will be explained later, worked from beneath the puppets.

Before dealing with this puppet manipulation, and the position from which the chanting and its accompaniment were performed, it will be convenient to trace the variations on this type of theatre which exist in the

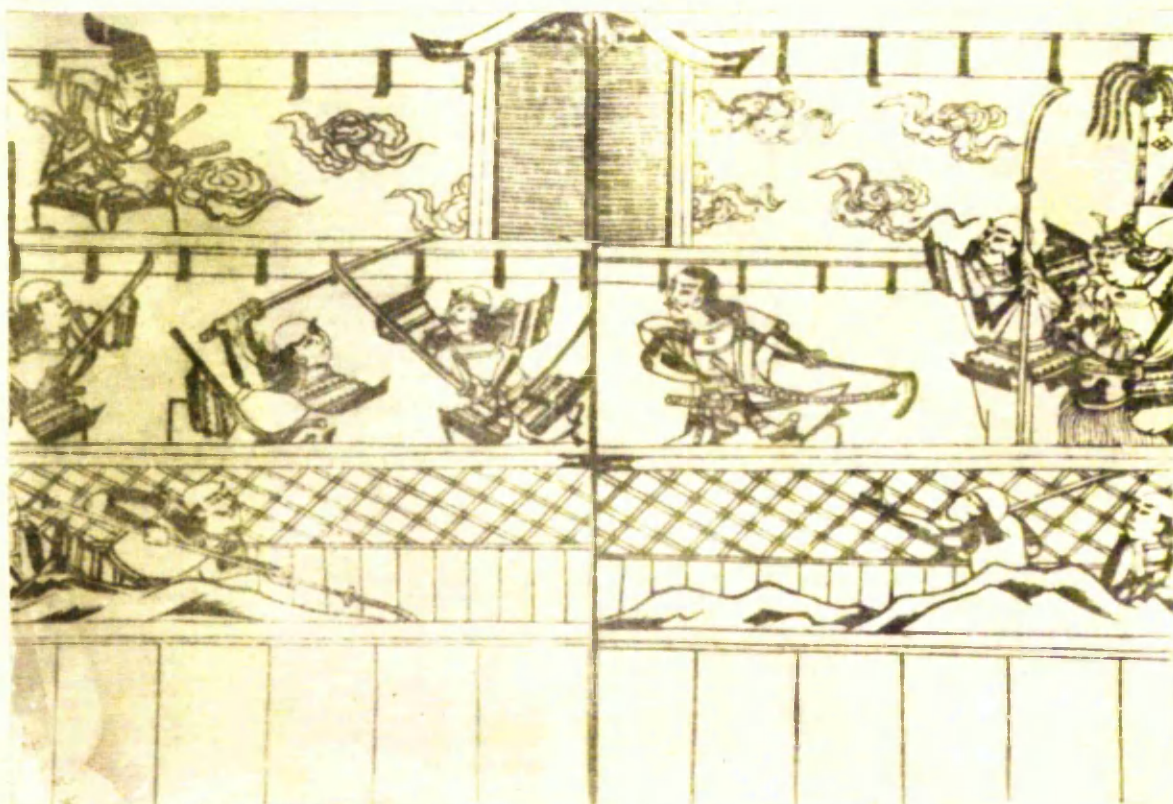


Illustration E Puppet stage in three depths
(see p. 99)

(NE2 p. 37)

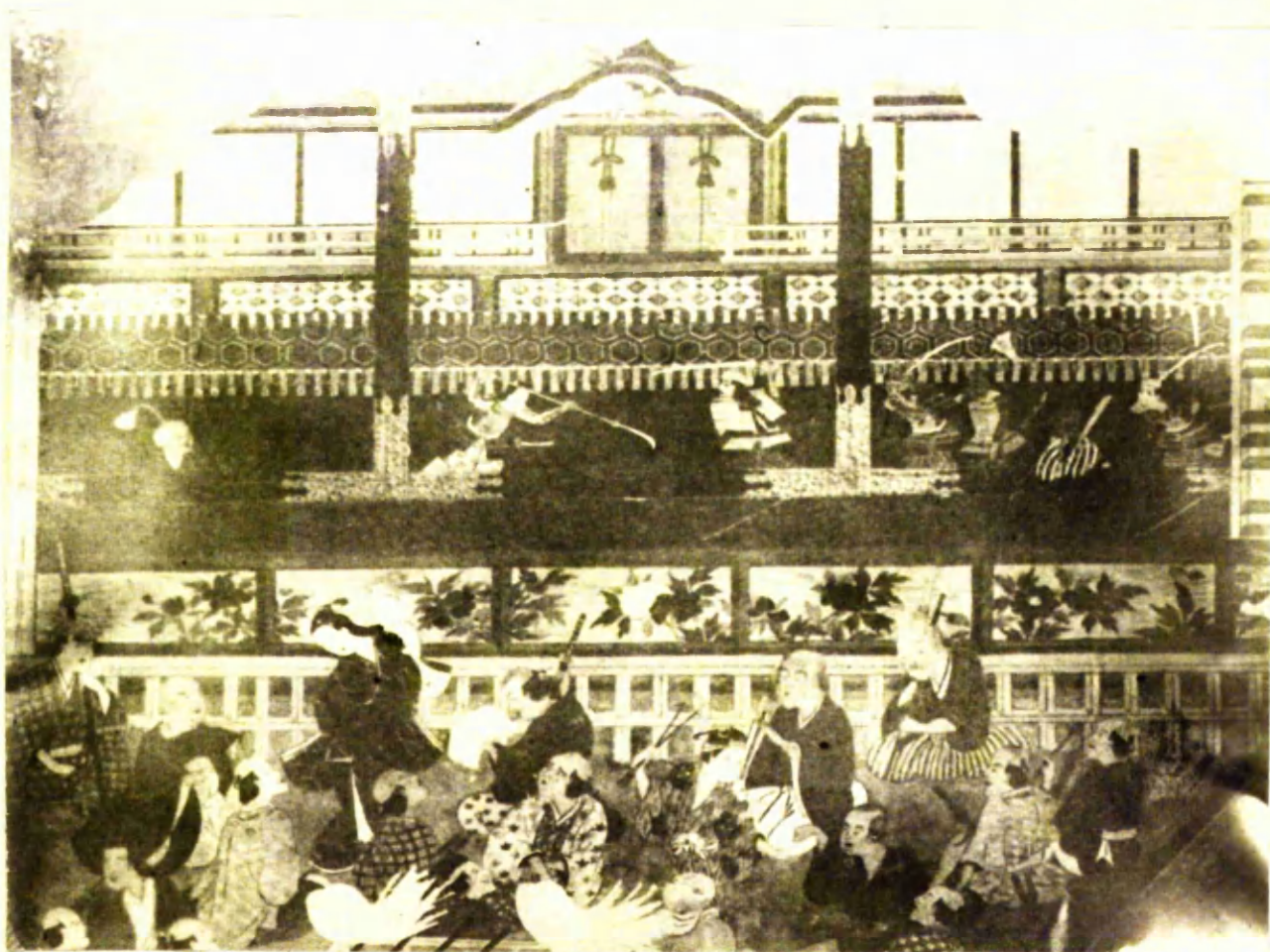


Illustration F Puppet theatre with railing between stage
and audience (see p. 99)

(NE2 p. 36)

period under study. It is probable that illustration A represents a slight advance on the stage in illustration B, because it has a piece of scenery in the castle placed to the left of the apron, and also because behind this castle, and also behind the curtain in front of which the puppets are fighting, there are more puppets who seem to be acting as spectators of the battle. One might suspect that these were just puppets that had been left there and were taking no part in the action, had not one of the female figures been shown in the characteristic attitude of weeping, with her sleeve covering her eyes. It seems in fact that the chief development lay in the provision of more manipulating areas than the single one of the earliest type. In 'Syokoku-banasi', by the novelist Saikaku, published in 1685, there appears a picture of a zyooruri performance (illustration E) which shows puppets operating in three distinct areas, each fronted by a railing. One suspects that the main activity is in the middle area, and that the puppets in front and behind are more or less inactive spectators. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the manipulators were trying to get more interest into their presentations by making their positioning more complicated. A picture of uncertain date (illustration F) shows a theatre of the early type, with a further railing in front of the apron. One may surmise that the area between this railing and the apron became used for the foremost activity and may be the one depicted at the

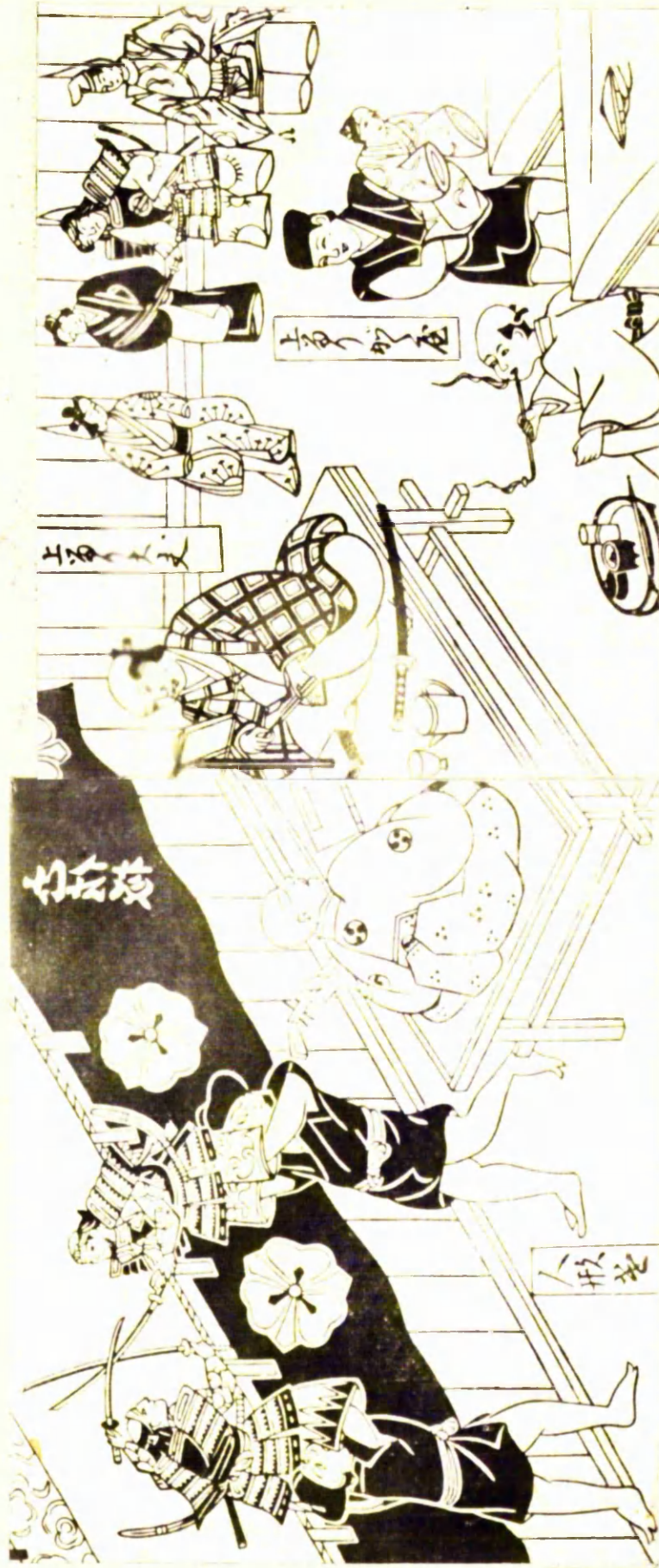


Illustration G Backstage in Kakudayun's Theatre (see p. 101)

(DNS p. 744-5)

front of the Saikaku illustration. It is very probable that this developed into what is now the foremost area in the present-day puppet theatre, and in which a great deal of the action takes place.

Illustration A shows the chanter and syamisen player (in this case both female) seated on a platform behind and at a higher level than the puppet area. Two of the other illustrations (E and F) show in this position two bamboo blinds behind which one may suppose the two performers to be seated. It may very well be that the custom was for them to remain concealed except in special circumstances. It is also by no means certain that they always occupied this position. For example, in illustration B, there does not seem sufficient space in the theatre shown for the two performers to be seated there. It is possible that they were behind the doll manipulators, in a position where they could not be seen by the public.

This is where they are placed in a picture showing the backstage of a puppet theatre (illustration G). This disposal of the chanter and syamisen player may demonstrate an arrangement that preceded or was at least alternative to that of the two female performers mentioned already. In the theatre shown in illustration G it seems unlikely that the audience were able to see the performers, or else there would have been a curtain or screen to hide the rest of the room

in which dolls are hung ready for use, and a manipulator is holding one of them with an air of waiting for his cue. Nevertheless, the difference between the two arrangements is not very great. If the table-like platform on which the two male performers are seated was made higher, and curtains were hung at their back and sides, their position would be very like that of the two women. In both cases it looks as if the chanter and accompanist were in a position to see the puppets; this would be very important for maintaining the unity of the performance.

It is always possible that the two female performers were displayed merely because they were women; when the appearance of women actors on the kabuki stage was banned in 1629 and 1640, women zyooruri performers were also prohibited. The kind of interest they aroused was considered undesirable by the authorities. That they were capable of attracting much masculine attention is suggested by the great success around the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the present century of female chanters and musicians, who were as popular at the time in Japan as chorus girls in this country.

(c) The puppets and their manipulation.

The book from which illustration G is taken (a kind of illustrated moral instruction handbook entitled 'Zinrin kunmoo zui', in which the text and pictures are unrelated) appeared in the Genroku period (1688 - 1703) and so is a little later than the years covered in this thesis, but, nevertheless, to judge from the simple equipment which it shows, it can be taken as typical of the period of the old zyooruri. To the left of the illustration there are two puppets representing warriors fighting, and these are visible to the audience through a horizontal gap between a lower curtain decorated with family crests, which is stretched above some vertical planking, and an upper hanging, a portion of which can be seen in the top left-hand corner. The general effect, then, would appear to the audience similar to that shown in illustration B, except that the apron would be replaced by the lower curtain. The chief value of this illustration is that it shows the method of manipulation used at the time. Each doll has one manipulator, who works below the level of the lower curtain, but nevertheless wears a dark cap and garment so that even if part of him rose above the curtain it would not be very noticeable. It is the custom still today for stage-hands and some less exalted puppet manipulators when they appear before the public to wear black clothes, with a black hood to cover even their face.



Illustration H Handless puppets in store
(See p. 106)

(ONS p. 760)

This manipulator uses both hands to control his doll, one thrust into each leg of the hakama - hence the name sasikomi ningyoo applied to this type of puppet. It is difficult to be sure about the type of mechanism, if any, that there was inside. From the way the 'off-duty' manipulator is holding his doll so that it is slanting away from him, one has an impression of stiffness, as if it were all of one piece. Of the four dolls hanging in the background, the two males, (on the right), each hold something in their right hand - respectively a fan and a sword - and this indicates what one would expect, namely that there was no mechanism by which the manipulator could take things into the hand of the puppet and grip them there. The illustration suggests that such things would have to be fitted into the hand previously and removed only from the outside. In fact it was not until the eighteenth century that movements of the hand which allowed it to grip fans and other objects became possible. Other illustrations of the period of old zyooruri do not give much more assistance in solving the problem of the mechanism of puppets of the time. Dolls certainly hold a variety of objects, such as fans, swords and staffs, which would seem to indicate that it was possible to remove or fit these to suit the puppets to their roles. Some pictures show dolls arranged on a kind of rack, sometimes with the empty sleeves of their garments crossed over their chests (illustration H). This might

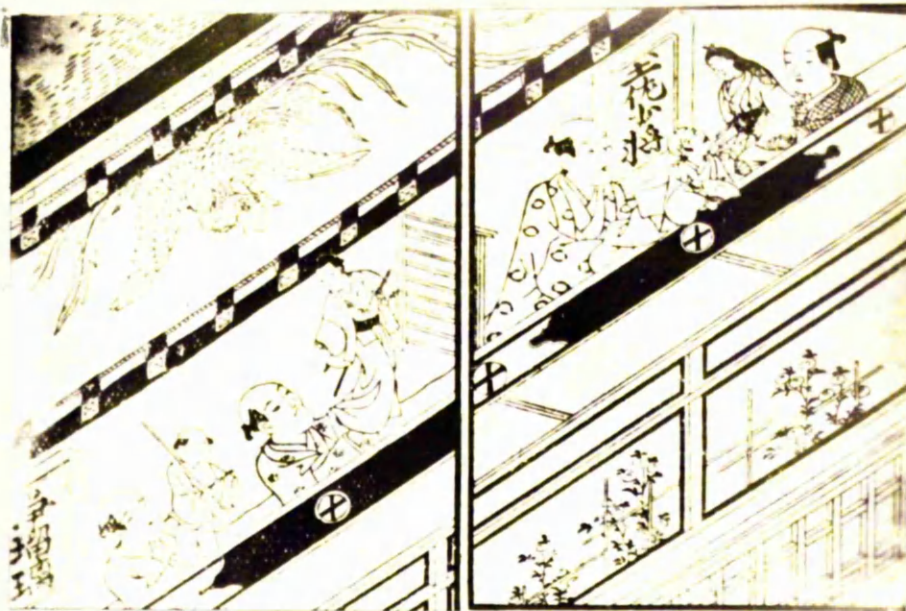


Illustration I Handless puppet on stage.
(see p. 107) (Utsumi No. 3)



Illustration J Puppets with turning head
(see p. 107) (Utsumi No. 5)

indicate that the puppets had some sort of removable arms, but it is also true that some illustrations of puppets in action show them without hands protruding from their sleeves (illustration I). Thus again the evidence is inconclusive; one might however infer from the vigorous scenes of fighting illustrated, that at least the arms were movable, and as the puppets are sometimes shown facing to their front, and sometimes to one side, it may be that a turning movement of the head was possible (Illustration J).

Another clue to the type of mechanism if any is the extent to which the manipulators' arms are shown inserted into the clothing of the puppet. In the illustration of the backstage scene (G), they seem to have gone in as far as the elbow; in other cases, little more than the hands are out of sight (I). This should indicate that there was at least some sort of a spine which could be held low down by the manipulator and which would support the whole doll, and that any controls for arms and head would have to be brought down to where the manipulators' hands were. This built-in stiffness of the dolls has been mentioned in an earlier paragraph, and it is of interest because one of the characteristics of the modern puppets used in the doll theatre is that there is very often no trunk, the connection between the shoulders and legs being only the outside clothes, which are hung from the former and to which the latter are attached. The problem of working such a doll has been solved by having

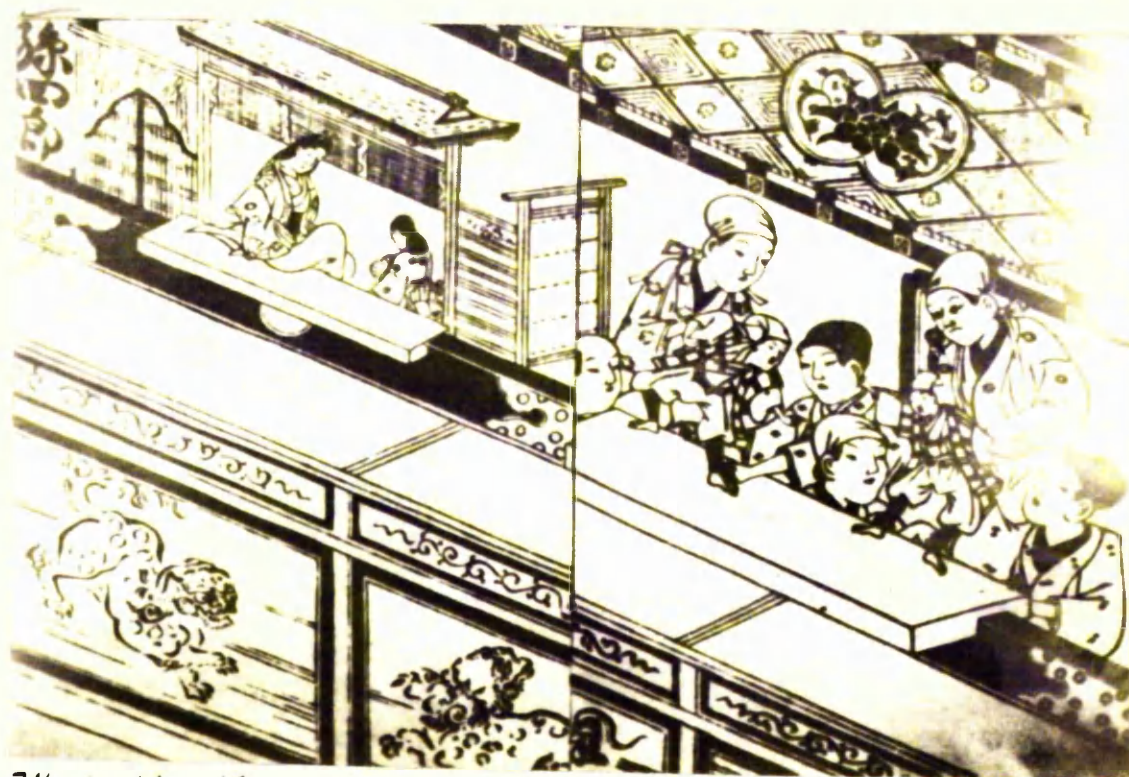


Illustration K Magosiroo's three-man puppets
(see p. 109)

(NEZ p. 38)



Illustration L Manipulators showing themselves
(dezukai). (see p. 110) (Utsumi No. 7)

the principal manipulator insert his left hand, which supports the shoulders and works the head, through a hole in the back of the puppets clothing. Even the much simpler and presumably older one-man dolls used in the puppet plays on the island of Sado have this same provision for control near the head of the puppet.

No description of of the mechanism of the old - zyooruri sasikomi puppets has been discovered, but the above observations would indicate at least that there was not a direct development from them to the later far more complicated puppets. The transfer of the hands from the bottom of the clothing to a hole in the back brought about a revolution in manipulation which seems, however, not to have been complete till the end of the century, and not to have started before the end of the old-zyooruri period.

Illustration K is of the theatre of Edo Magosiroo, who worked in the sekkyoo tradition and is mentioned in a list dated 1687 (Mizutani p.219); it shows dolls being manipulated each by three men. It is easy to see that one of these occupied himself with the feet, which he moved by holding them from the outside (the modern foot operator grips handles at the back of the heels, or, in the case of a puppet representing an adult woman, simply moves the bottom of the outer garment to suggest the movement of the feet and legs). The other two divide between them the responsibility for the head and two arms, and from the position of the arms

of the manipulators' it is not impossible that their hands go in at the puppet's back; on the other hand, it is possible that the doll is being worked entirely from the outside, being provided with joints in its limbs to allow these to be bent. Of course, the manipulators have their heads and upper parts of their bodies in full view, and the puppets are treading on an actual stage at the level of the top of the apron or front railing, instead of on air as in the sasikomi dolls. It has since become the tradition in the puppet theatre that the manipulators should come out in the open, and even in the case of the puppets worked from below, the sasikomi puppets, there are pictures (of which illustration L is one) indicating that in the 1670's and 1680's their manipulators were seeking more recognition from the public, and were holding their puppets not above their heads, but on a level with their shoulders. Accompanying this, there was a tendency for the manipulators to abandon the simple clothing of the early period and to wear something a little smarter. An architectural consequence was that the front railing or apron became somewhat lower.

It is suggested by Utumi that the dolls in the Magosiroo illustration (K) resemble the so-called goban dolls. The term goban refers to the low table with a square top on which the game of go is played. Towards the end of the century, and later, goban dolls were mechanical, worked, it is said, by a clockwork mechanism in the table

itself, in which case it would not be a real go board, or even in the doll ~~so that~~ it could perform on any flat surface including a go board. It would seem, nevertheless, that dolls of this type did not play a significant role in the puppet drama of the old-zyooruri period. . Wakatuki (Zy p.635) gets his year periods mixed up when he writes of them being mentioned several times between the fourth and seventh years of the Enpoo period, that is to say between 1676 and 1679. He is quoting from the diary of the governor of Yamato, and reference to this reveals that these entries belong to the Genroku period; the dates are thus between 1691 and 1694, which takes us beyond our period after all. Some Japanese writers (e.g. Utumi, p.691) quote as proof of the early appearance of goban puppets, a note on a flyleaf of a zyooruri text, which was printed in 1677, to the effect that dolls moved 'freely on a goban', but there is no evidence produced that this note was written when the book had newly appeared. The ~~date~~ is too late to be directly of use for this study, but there is a picture of a goban puppet in 'Seken musuko katagi' - 'Tales of worldly young men' - reproduced in Hibbett p. 148/9.

Other mechanical dolls and devices seem to have been used . Isiwari (p.72) mentions the use of hydraulic power and clockwork, ~~but dismisses~~ mechanical dolls as mere tricks to attract audiences by their novelty or even, he suggests, their portrayal of erotic scenes. Most authors,

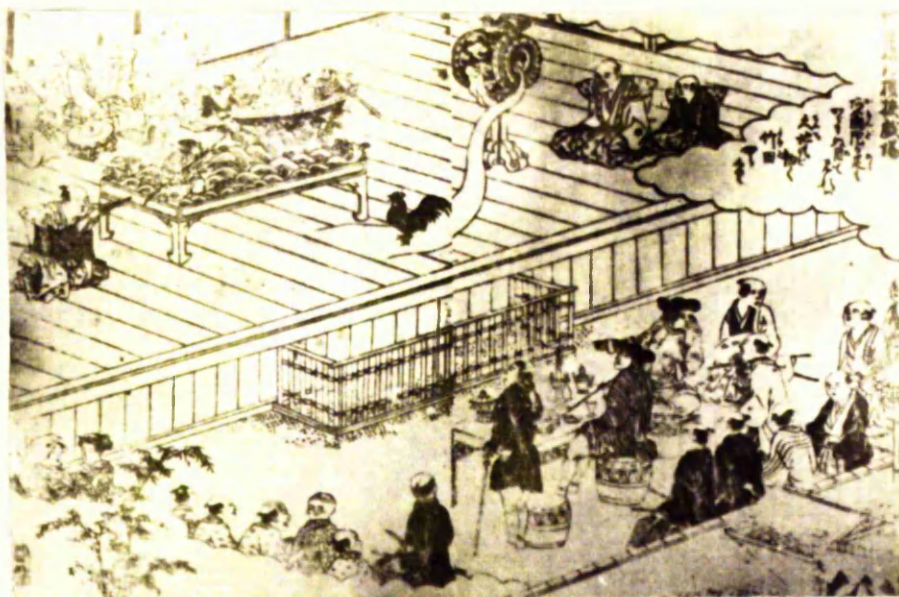


Illustration M Mechanical puppetry of Takeda
Oomi no zyoo (see p. 113) (ZNB IX p. 270)

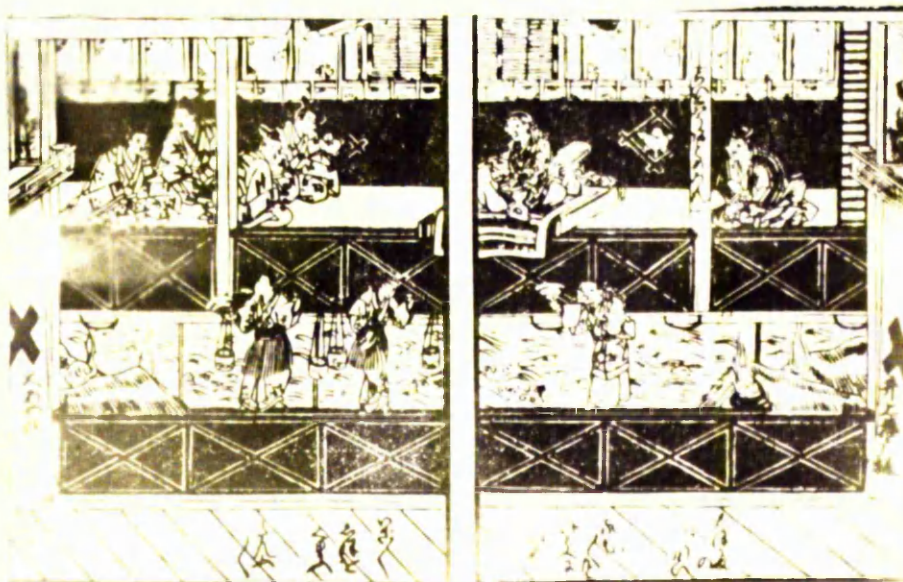


Illustration N Possible string puppets in theatre of
Inoue Harima no zyoo
(see p. 116) (Utsumi No. 12)

however (e.g. Mizutani p.318), attribute more importance to them and there is no doubt that, particularly in the Kyooto/Oosaka district, the work of some of the chanters, notably Yamamoto Kakudayuu (see p.193) was considerably influenced by the use of mechanical dolls, and also string puppets, in their theatres. On the other hand even Kakudayuu must have used the standard sasikomi puppets sometimes, for illustration G is of this chanter's theatre.

The name of Takeda Oomi no zyoo has come down as that of the founder in 1662 of a theatre which used mechanical effects depending upon waterpower and clockwork, and in which Kakudayuu and others performed. A picture of his stage (illustration M) shows a cock which has apparently come out of a large drum, and a platform on which there is a scene in which a ship is coming in to shore, where a warrior is waiting in an attitude of defence. At the end of this platform sits a man working some kind of handle, which must either have provided the power for the mechanism, or controlled its movements. Isiwari (P. 72) says that waterpower was derived from the ditch which gave Dootonbori, where the theatre was, its name, and the platform on this stage may have used this power, for it has also a fountain playing. Once again, however, the problem of dating arises, for the illustration is from a book thought to have been printed in 1794, and what accuracy it has as a depiction of the puppets of over a century before its date it is

impossible to say. Certainly, this does not look like a puppet theatre, but rather a kind of sideshow. The presence of two Dutchmen watching the exhibition adds interest to the picture. Nevertheless, what is in doubt is not whether there were mechanical dolls and devices, but rather just what they were like.

One other sort of puppet was used, at least by Kakudayuu, and probably more widely. In a travel diary written in 5/1617 by Tokunaga Tanehisa (Wakatuki p. 625), there is a reference to amusing wooden dolls worked by strings, which performed kyoogen (here perhaps to be taken as a general word for plays, rather than just the comic interludes in a noo programme), dances, and zyooruri. Clearly, at this early date, string puppets were being used in Edo. Modern Japanese writers consider that their use continued throughout the old-zyooruri period, but only in a subsidiary position to the hand puppets. Isiwari (p.74) makes an attempt to clear up problems of nomenclature. A paraphrase of what he says is that in present-day Japanese the term ayaturi ningyoo is nearly always equivalent to ito ayaturi, i.e. string manipulated (puppet). In the old-zyooruri period this equivalence did not exist and ayaturi referred to manipulation of any kind, and string manipulation was specifically termed ito ayaturi. The danger exists then that an excessive importance might be given to the string puppet in our period through a misinterpretation of the word ayaturi.

Yet a hint that string puppets may have been important at some time earlier, is given by the name of the upper curtain (of which a little is visible, for instance, in the top left corner of illustration G), which was known as tura-kakusi, 'face hider'; this would seem an appropriate name in a string-puppet stage, where the body of the manipulator from the level of the front railing, curtain or apron upwards to about shoulder level might be hidden by a curtain between him and his doll, but where a further hanging, on the audience side of the vertical plane in which the doll moved, would be needed to hide the face, and also the hands, of the manipulator. With hand-puppets held above the manipulator's head, this name for the upper curtain would have no meaning, for he worked (in the early period before the introduction of dezukai - 'manipulation in the open') entirely behind the lower screen.

Another term for string-puppets is nankin ayaturi - 'Nanking puppets'. Most writers take this in its obvious sense of dolls from China. Isiwari (p. 71), while not apparently ruling out completely a Chinese origin, says that nankin here refers to the smallness of the dolls (as it does in other words), and classes them with mechanical devices, considering them only as adjuncts only to the normal hand-puppet. Hosoi (p. 56) takes the name as meaning both Chinese and small, and he describes the dolls as having been used in conjunction with the mechanical devices already

described. One wonders if there were not two kinds of string puppets, one of which was used in the earliest days of the puppet theatre as the normal doll for carrying on the action of the play, doing the same work as the hand-puppets and being the ones mentioned by Tokunaga. These would have afforded the name for the upper curtain. The other would then be a smaller development which took its place among the novelties of Takeda and Kakudayuu. Unfortunately, the illustrations available do not give a great deal of useful information. Wakatuki (Zy p.612) gives a reproduction of a picture of a woman working by means of a frame a string puppet the small size of which might indicate that it was like a nankin ayaturi, but since the illustration is accompanied by no information about source or date, it is useless for our purpose. Illustration N, which dates from 1727, shows the theatre of Inoue Harima no zyoo in the play 'Raikoo atome-ron', which ~~was~~ probably first performed in 1677, and Harima died in 1685, so that it is in the period under study. All the puppets are on an apparently solid floor, and look like string puppets. The attitude of the dolls, with their somewhat drooping stance, certainly gives this impression. But once again there arises the problem of the time-gap between the illustration and its subject, in this case fifty years.

Reference to the work of Kakudayuu will be made later, but in general terms it can be said now that it is



Illustration O Kuguku-mawasi (see p. 118) (NEZ p 104)

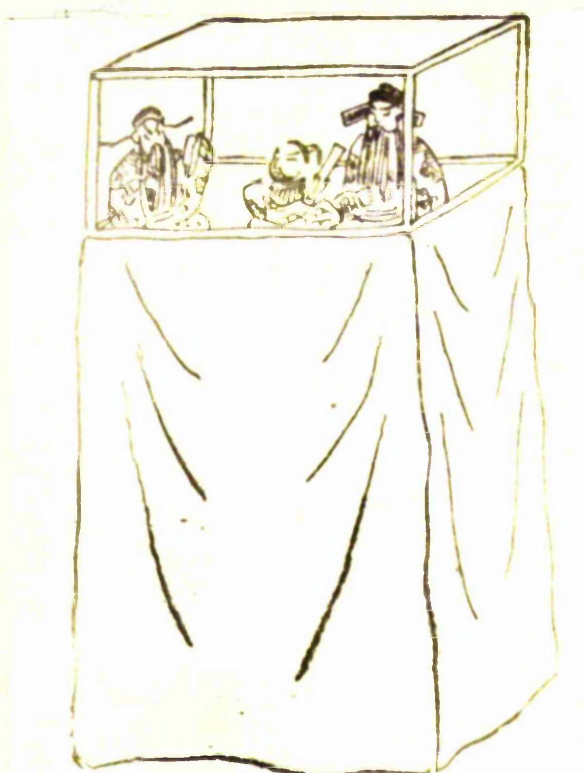


Illustration P Hentangi
(see p. 120) (Tanabe p. 312)
1932

certain, in spite of the lack of relevant illustrations, that he used both mechanical devices and string puppets. His main activity was in Kyoto but he was a native of Osaka, and he is the most important representative of a branch of the puppet theatre which developed in the Kyoto/Osaka district and which relied on a far wider range of puppetry than the simple hand puppets. The influence of the methods used in the presentation had a great, and in the end an unfortunate, effect on the text of the plays.

It was indicated in an earlier part of this ~~these~~ thesis (p.28) that it was considered unlikely that there was a connection between the puppets of the kugutu-mawasi and those of the doll theatre. Two further considerations can now be added to support this argument. First, there is the matter of the kairaisi of the seventeenth century. From several pictures of these which are extant, it is clear that they were peripatetic performers who carried in front of them, suspended from their shoulders by straps, a box which served as a stage for a puppet show. These boxes were of various patterns; the one shown in illustration 00 is a simple affair without a top. The right hand of the entertainer is clearly seen to be inserted through the back of the box so as to work one of the two puppets shown. Other representations from the early part of the seventeenth century show more complicated boxes, some being in effect model theatres complete with roof. In each instance the puppets are

worked in much the same way. Sometimes the entertainers worked in pairs, either each with a stage of his own, or one with a stage and the other with a syamisen. In all the pictures they have an audience of children.

Japanese writers all seem to take it for granted that these kairaisi are the direct descendants of the kugutu mawasi of six centuries earlier. One reason for this is the almost certainly erroneous derivation of the word kugutu from kugu, a basket or box, used for collecting seaweed or shellfish. The theory is that the kugutu mawasi used this basket or box for food-gathering, and also for their puppet shows. It is, of course, impossible to prove or disprove the descent of the seventeenth century kairaisi from the tenth and eleventh century kugutu mawasi, but the gap in the records mentioned earlier makes it likely that the only connection between them was the characters used in writing their names. The view that the equipment of the later kairaisi was that used by the Nisi-no-miya troupes is, however, not unlikely, though the reference in the Tokiyosi diary (DNS p.709) refers to their erecting a curtain, implying a temporary stage of larger size. The fact that both the kairaisi and the sasikomi puppet manipulators worked the puppets from below would argue for a connection between them.

The other consideration mentioned on the preceding page is that of the possibility of a Chinese influence.

In connection with string puppets it has already been said that the name nankin ayaturi could imply a Chinese origin for dolls of this sort. The mechanical toys of the fifteenth century, of which the ayaturi dooroo mentioned on p. 29 of this thesis is an example, are also commonly said to have come from China. It would thus not be unreasonable to look for a Chinese source for the sasikomi puppets too. Tanabe (1932 p.312) thinks that he has found this source, for he writes:

'I think that, quite distinct from the box-puppets, there came into this country from China the hentangi (pian tan hsi), who were at the time enjoying a period of great prosperity over there, and Hitta gave performances with them. As you see in the accompanying illustration (illustration P), there was a watchtower-like structure some seven or eight feet high, with curtains fixed round it from the ground up to a height of about five feet. The manipulator(s) and singer(s) went inside this curtain, and while the singer performed his music, the manipulator raised the puppets with his two hands over his head, and made the top half of them appear over the curtain. This type of performance originated in later Ming times, and at the end of the sixteenth century was being given with great success all over China. With the beginning of the Shin dynasty, it became a larger scale affair, and as many as ten men or more would go within the curtain, and operate as many dolls; this resembles very closely the doll theatre in Japan in the period of Satuma Zyoon.'

By 'box-puppets' Tanabe means the equipment of the late kairaisi, which he considers as deriving from the old kugutu-mawasi. Satuma Zyoon was a chanter who operated in Edo in the early seventeenth century.

The only other reference to give any detail is in a dictionary, 'Heibonsya daiziten', at the entry hentangi

It is described as

'Chinese doll-theatre, performed in street etc. On three sides of a stand made by erecting four poles about six feet high, there is stretched a curtain about five feet high. Within this the doll manipulator(s) and singer(s) are hidden. The dolls are worked with the upper half of their bodies raised above the curtain. It flourished at the end of Ming and beginning of Shin. It bears a close resemblance to early puppet theatres in Japan.'

The close agreement between these two accounts does not necessarily make their accuracy more likely, for they almost certainly have a common origin.

The second character of the word hentangi (扁担戲) is presumably for 担, which in its turn is used for 樁; its signification is thus 'flat pole entertainment' and it is allegedly so named because it could be dismantled and transported on such poles. It is a general name in Chinese for a street-corner puppet show, and the two Japanese references given are the only ones discovered which assign it to a restricted period of time. Information from Mr Harry Simon reveals that the illustration reproduced in Tanabe (illustration P) is of a type of puppet show still common in China, in which the puppets are worked by rods, in much the same fashion as shadow puppets.

Sufficient evidence is not available to make it certain that this hentangi was really as flourishing as the Japanese authors maintain, or that it had the influence on the Japanese theatre that they credit it with, but in view of the long period in which no mention of puppets is made

in Japan, and the possible general influence of Chinese puppets as exemplified by nankin ayaturi, it seems at the least very possible that the dolls with which the earliest zyooruri were performed came from China, and that from this simple foreign introduction there arose the very complicated and flexible instruments that Japanese puppets were to become in the eighteenth century and which they still are today in the Bunraku theatre in Oosaka.

Finally in this chapter an attempt will be made to give an impression of what an old zyooruri performance was like. The Bunraku theatre in Oosaka is far too advanced in puppetry and plot, not to mention scenery and staging, to be of great help in the matter, and the same may be said of nearly all the local puppet groups which still exist in many parts of Japan. Nearly all these use dolls of the Bunraku type, and their playbooks are by later authors than those of the old zyooruri. Among those of other types than Bunraku, the puppet groups that exist on the island of Sado in the Japan Sea seem to retain very old features.

First it may be noted that they do not require a stage to give their performance. Perhaps like the performers seen by Tokiyosi, they need only a few curtains to make themselves a theatre. The most important of these is stretched in front of the acting area from ground level to about 3 feet 6 inches high. Further curtains are hung behind the acting area to form a back cloth, which may be



Illustration Q Sado puppet theatre
(see p.124) (author's photograph)



Illustration R Sado puppet mechanism
(see p.124) (author's photograph)

varied to make a change of scene. There is also something like a pelmet hung at the top of the back cloth and just in front of it, but not so far forward as the main curtain in the front. This 'pelmet' appears to have the purpose of making something like the top of a frame, and may be a late development, inspired by the proscenium arch of the western stage. The main curtain is decorated with a picture of a tiger with rocks and a bamboo (illustration Q).

The puppets are worked by one operator each. They are not so primitive as the sasikomi type, inasmuch as the hands of the manipulator are inserted in a hole in the clothing at the puppet's back, and not from below, but the mechanism of the doll is of great simplicity (illustration R). It consists of three parts, the principal one being a rod held vertically and surmounted by the head of the puppet. The head consists of the neck and head proper, the latter attached by a pivot. There is a string fixed to the head by which it is made to nod. Immediately below the head and neck there is a cross piece of wood that forms the shoulders and supports the clothing. The vertical rod can turn relatively to the shoulder piece to give the effect of the head turning from side to side. The other two parts are the two arms. These are straight rods with hands carved at the ends, one rod, the one with the left hand, being longer than the other. They are held at right angles to each other in the operator's right hand, and the long arm goes completely

across the body, being held where it crosses the vertical rod (to which the head is attached) by his left hand, which is also busy controlling the turning and nodding of the head. This inflexible arrangement of the arms, which always remain at right-angles to each other, one stretched forwards and one sideways, imposes a rigidity on the dolls which makes it ~~impossible~~ for them to give anything like the impression of realism one gets from the Bunraku dolls.

The manipulators wear black clothing, and in spite of being in full view of the audience from the chest up, they do not greatly intrude upon the action. The dolls have no feet and are operated so that the bottom of their clothing is always just out of sight behind the curtain.

The music and chanting of these Sado puppets is performed by one man, in a manner which has been described on p. 20 ; that is to say, a few notes on his syamisen are followed by a few words of chanting, which are in turn followed by a few more notes on the syamisen. It may very well be, however, that even in the days of the old zyooruri the chanting and accompaniment, given as they were by separate performers, were more closely knit since syamisen and voice performed at the same time. There are some chanters today who manage to accompany themselves with the same music as would be played by a separate accompanist, but the Sado reciter does not attempt this. Another early characteristic is that like the majority of the reciters of

the old-zyooruri period, he remains out of sight of the audience but has the puppets in full view.

The stage in Sado has no depth and it is easy to appreciate why that of the old zyooruri developed in the direction of providing more than one acting area. The manipulators are cramped for space and the puppets are obliged to remain in more or less the same position, or, if they have to change their place, they disappear from view to re-appear in the new situation, as the manipulator moves to back to get sufficient room to cross behind his fellows.

One can imagine that the early days of the old zyooruri were characterised by this same inflexibility and restriction of space. The fact that so many of the illustrations show scenes of fighting reflects the inclinations of the audiences of the time, and such scenes would not be too difficult to stage, provided that the contestants maintained their relative positions. Puppets portraying characters not speaking or moving could remain motionless - their manipulators might even hang them up in full view of the audience, while they themselves went off and worked another doll, just as in the Bunraku theatre a doll is sometimes left in charge of one manipulator while his two colleagues are busy elsewhere. When more than one acting area came to be provided, more movement would become possible, though actual contact between characters in different areas would be impossible. The normal thing would be for the different

areas to represent different spaces; for example persons in a castle might watch and comment on others fighting in the space in front of it.

Nowadays, in contrast with the subtleties possible with the Bunraku puppets, it would appear crude and unrealistic. The people of Sado, however, seem to enjoy (or to have enjoyed until very recently) the performances offered to them, and the great popularity of the old zyooruri implies a similar enjoyment on the part of the audiences of the time. It certainly made a strong impression on Hayasi Razan, the Confucian philosopher, whose comment on a visit to a puppet theatre in Edo is translated by Keene (p. 20; see also p. 143 of this thesis).

(7) The chanters of old zyooruri.

The details of the plays and the chanters who performed them during the years between about 1620 and 1686 can be drawn from material of different types and varying reliability. Best of all are the playbooks which have been preserved until the present day or which have been properly recorded by serious scholars in recent years even though their present whereabouts is unknown. Another good source is afforded by diaries recording visits to theatres or performances seen elsewhere than in a theatre. Finally there are criticisms, comments and historical studies of the puppet theatre, which date from the seventeenth century to the present day. Before taking up the main theme of this chapter, it will be convenient to enlarge a little on the three types of source above-mentioned, and also to consider a few statistics.

It has already been explained that the texts of plays appeared as certified true versions (syoochon) and that their accuracy was attested by the chanter. From the beginning of the puppet theatre that chanter had been considered as the most important member of the team that put on the show, and the play was considered as his play. This is a situation that has not changed, and it is reflected in the fact that, even with the puppets absent, a perfectly adequate performance of a piece can be given by chanter and syamisen

alone. The syoochon were produced as a commercial undertaking to sell in as large numbers as possible to those who either wanted to be reminded of plays they had seen, or perhaps wanted to read a play before seeing it, or even during the actual performance, as do many of the audience of a noo play today, though this last motive only existed toward the end of our period, when syoochon began to be directed to the amateur performer. They were also presumably read as stories, and by those who were prevented by distance from seeing the plays. It is significant that, at least until the 1650's, in spite of the preeminence of Edo in the development of the puppet drama, by far the largest number of these books were being printed in Oosaka and Kyooto.

The book of one play would sometimes occupy one volume only, sometimes two. Illustrations were nearly always provided; these occasionally showed the action being performed by puppets, but much more common was its portrayal in more realistic form, the participants being portrayed as human beings, or whatever other living creatures might appear, set in the appropriate imaginary scene, which was again shown more or less realistically and not in the way of stage scenery. No great artistic skill was employed in the drawing of the illustrations, which are usually crude though vigorous and clearly understandable (illustrations S, T). They were sometimes enlivened by colour, often applied in shapeless blobs of red or green, with no great regard for

register. The whole book was produced by means of wood-block printing. When a play was contained in one volume its length was about seventeen (double) pages. The size became standardised at approximately six inches by four inches, though some of the early ones had a smaller format. These syoonon formed part of the popular literature of the time, along with kanazoosi, the predecessors of Saikaku's novels, though lower in the literary scale than these. Their style of illustration was copied by the kurohon, or black-covered picture books.

There ~~can~~, of course, be no certainty that every word of the playbook was exactly as the chanter rendered it. Minor variations almost certainly occurred, depending upon the whim of the chanter, but generally speaking there can be no doubt of their accuracy for all practical purposes. There are also certain problems connected with reprints, so that one cannot always rely entirely upon a date given as that of a playbook. It may have been reprinted later with no alteration to the block. But this again is of little importance here because the date will be trustworthy in so far as it shows that the play was current at the time of the dating, regardless of when the actual copy was printed. So it is natural that these playbooks provide a solid foundation on which to base a history of the zyooruri of the period. Wakatuki has been the most assiduous collector of data. His list appears more than once in his books

(for instance, among the appendixes to Wakatuki Zy) either complete or in parts; for the period under study it includes 355 playbooks, giving their title and, when known, chanter, date of printing, details of format and colouring, printing, and the name of the owner of the book or library it was in, at the time of compilation, though they have in some cases been dispersed since or destroyed during the Pacific war. To his list can be added some forty other titles recorded in various places, mainly by Mizutani, or existing in modern reprints. In sum, the titles of some 400 playbooks dating from 1686 or before are known as existing or having existed within the past twenty years. What is perhaps more to the point for the study of old zyooruri are those books which have been reprinted in movable type in a modern form. A useful list of these has appeared in the December 1959 number of the periodical 'Geinoo', and has been checked and found accurate against a similar list prepared in the course of the preparation of this thesis. These modern editions have the great advantage of being readily available and in a more easily readable form than the original crowded and none too elegant block printing, but most do not reproduce the illustrations which give the playbooks such a characteristic appearance. The reprints vary widely in such things as exact reproduction of original text, and the amount of notes and commentary, but there is no doubt that the work of Yokoyama is outstanding. Not only

does he preserve the original text scrupulously (reproducing in kana what was in kana in the original, and putting into characters only what was so written), but he gives full information on the make-up of the book, noting ends of pages in the text, and commenting on most points of interest. It is from his editions that one can best infer what the original was like.

To turn for the moment from playbooks to diaries, two contemporary comments by members of zyooruri audiences have already been noted - those of Tokunaga and Razan. There exists a third, and much longer, document, in this case the diary of an official of the Tokugawa government, the governor of the province of Yamato. This diary was discovered by Wakatuki, and this author's lengthy and, it must be added, very repetitive works on zyooruri, owe much to it. As far as can be discovered, it had been seen only by Wakatuki, and while there can be no reasonable doubt of its authenticity, for who would forge so lengthy and detailed a document as this, there must remain in the mind of the student a certain doubt, if only of the accuracy of the transliteration of the text as it is reprinted in Wakatuki Ki p. 13-180. The diary covers the period from 1660 to 1689, and records, among other things, the many entertainments the governor attended, usually in mansions and palaces, and not in theatres. It is sometimes difficult to identify what is a puppet play and what some other form of entertainment such as kabuki or

or koowaka, but it is possible to sort out references to performances within the period under study which afford the titles of 94 puppet plays, of which 37 are not identifiable with play books of a corresponding date. When repeated performances of the same play are taken into account, it seems that he saw some 70 different plays by puppet groups during a period of twenty-five years. However, not much information beyond the title of the piece, and the name of performers is afforded by this diary, there being virtually no critical comment upon the performances. One point of interest that emerges, however, is that the puppet groups performed plays of two sorts. Apart from the full-length plays (or on some occasions separate acts from these plays, for it seems that the custom which has become dominant in the present-day theatre, of presenting only the more famous acts instead of the whole piece, was already in being) there were interludes, some like 'Miyako meguri' which has already been mentioned, some comic.

Once again the puppet theatre on Sado may give a clue to the sort of piece such a comic interlude was. On this island there is still in existence a repertory of short comic pieces performed by one man alone, there being no music, and the performer giving his own description of the scene, and also the dialogue. The puppets are of the utmost simplicity, consisting merely of a head fitted to a stick which serves as a handle, the stick and the manipulator's hand holding it being hidden by a simple garment. Each play

can thus have no more than two characters, one for each hand. One plot that still survives is the story of a man who went from Sado to Sikoku to get a statue of a buddha. He applied to a famous carver of such images, and was persuaded to part with his fee before the goods were delivered. The money was spent on drink and no statue was made. When the man from Sado came to take delivery, the carver took the buddha's place and was carried off on the man's back. It was only after some time had elapsed that the man started to put questions to the statue and received replies inappropriate to a buddha. The trickery was discovered and the fake buddha chased away. The piece is extremely reminiscent of the comic interludes in noo performances, and one may suppose that those mentioned in the diary were inspired by or derived from these same noo interludes.

In the entry 13/11/1661, the governor records the names of 170 playbooks which he says had been printed by that date. Too great reliance cannot be placed, however, on this list, for it is compiled from memory, and it is very likely that the titles he gives were sometimes not the ones that appeared on the cover of the playbooks. Nevertheless it can give a guide to estimating what proportion of playbooks of the period still survive. The number of books in Wakatuki's and other lists which may be dated previous to the governor's list is 65. At a very rough estimate, if one takes into account the titles which he may have forgotten, it is perhaps permissible to reckon that about one third of

the books from this period survived.

One historical work, as distinct from contemporary records and diaries, may be mentioned here, since it has the same sort of value as the list of books in the diary of the governor. In 1757 there was printed 'Konzyaku ayaturi zyooruri gedai nenkan', known as 'Gedai nenkan' - 'Chronological list of titles'. In spite of its title, it is largely by chanter that the titles are listed, but it can be established that it started from about 1675. Once again the author was relying on his memory, so that it is not surprising that few dates are given for the performances. However, one can estimate that he mentions about 250 plays in our period, of which some 140 are not otherwise recorded. The fact that a play is performed is not necessarily to say that it was printed, and thus it does not follow that 140 playbooks have disappeared. About 100 survive from the period 1675, the start of the 'Gedai nenkan' list, to 1686, and it might not be too far out to estimate that rather fewer than that have gone. Thus, in the period up to 1661, about one third of the total of playbooks may have survived, and of those from 1675 to 1686, about one half. Of the period from 1661 to 1675 some 230 playbooks survive, and if these too represent about one half of the total that appeared, it may be that over the whole period of the old zyooruri as many as 800 plays were printed in a little over fifty years. This is a measure of the great popularity

of the puppet plays.

The critical and historical works mentioned in earlier parts of this thesis, such as 'Sikidoo ookagami' and 'Seikyoku ruisan', deal not only with the earliest part of our period, their accuracy with regard to which has been questioned, but also with events nearer to their date of publication, for which their information can be expected to be considerably more reliable. It is from these works that modern historians have derived their accounts of the biographies of performers, and of the various styles of performance. Although the transmission of information upon the latter is of the greatest difficulty, and any report of artistic appreciation almost impossible fully to comprehend without the actual object (in this case a performance which has been lost to our ears for ever) presented for our study, nevertheless it is of the greatest importance to make some attempt at such comprehension, for it is certain that the real auditory impact upon the audience was made by the chanter and not by his text, and that a good chanter could make his effect almost regardless of the quality of this text. Information derived from this kind of source must therefore be combined with that from the playbooks themselves. To attempt to do so from the works in question, even if they were all available, would be only to go over the same ground as has been covered by the modern Japanese writers on the subject. The intention is therefore to place a wary and critical

reliance upon them, in particular upon Kuroki, Mizutani and Wakatuki, in the following pages in which will be considered the chanters and their repertoires after the first period. Not every chanter will be mentioned, but those omitted are of little importance. The only worthwhile information on the subject in English is in Keene, p. 12-27, but the present study, apart from being longer and more detailed, will also be more critical and, it is hoped, more accurate.

Most of the plays that have been discussed up to now were performed in Kyoto. It will be essential also to consider Edo and Osaka, but in order to afford an over-all view at any one time, rather than deal with each area separately over the whole period, it will be better to make first a chronological division. The most outstanding phenomenon of the repertory was the appearance in the 1650's of a type of play which have been given the title of kinpira-mono, from the character, Kinpira, who is the hero of most of them. A useful chronological division is thus into three periods, which can be named pre-kinpira, kinpira, and post-kinpira.

(a) The pre-kinpira period.

In Kyooto, where zyooruri had started, an early phenomenon of interest was the appearance of female chanters. It has already been suggested that they owed at least some of their success to their femininity and that they probably chanted in full view of the public in order to make the most of themselves. The chanter who appears in illustration A bears the name of Naiki, but there is no other reference to her. The names which appear on other illustrations of zyooruri performances of the time are generally authentic, so it is reasonable to presume that Naiki was a real person. She had more than one competitor of her own sex. The best attested is Rokuzi Namuemon, who is credited with a playbook, dated 1639, of which a partial copy survives in manuscript, entitled 'Yasima' and dealing with the defeat of the Taira at this place by Yositone. Another female performer who is mentioned at the same time is Samon Yositake, but of her nothing but the name is known. The prohibition of female entertainers put an end to the activities of these chanters and no more of them as public performers is heard for over 250 years.

The first male performers in Kyooto seem to have disappeared at a very early date. In 1613 there is a record of a certain Kenmotu receiving the appellation Kawati no zyoo (see p. 33), and then there is silence apart from the above-

mentioned women, until 1637 the name Sanai appears on a playbook entitled alternatively 'Wada hangan Tomonaga' or simply 'Tomonaga'. This person, on 16/10/1642, received the title of Wakasa no kami - 'Governor of Wakasa'. He seems to have had something of a monopoly in Kyoto for the next ten years, apart from a year or two after 1650, when he had competition from Isezima Kunai, who, after a period of activity in Edo had moved to Kyoto. There is a certain amount of confusion between Wakasa and the earlier Kawati, for both were given the name Huziware Yositugu when they were granted their court titles. The number of years covered (about forty years from 1613) however, indicates fairly clearly that two persons are involved. More than ten playbooks bearing the name Wakasa are known, bearing dates between 1643 and 1651. No more is heard of him after this last date, and it is believed that he died soon afterwards.

The plays he presented vary in theme from the purely buddhist sentiments of 'Amida no honzi' (1644) to heroic stories of filial devotion, subduing of evil spirits, and the adventures of Kooga no Saburoo in the underworld (Suwa no honzi Kaneie), which appeared in 1648 and is a development of the legend of the god who is enshrined in the Suwa shrine.

Wakasa shows clear signs of being influenced by the more active theatre of Edo, but 'Sikidoo ookagami' attributes to him an easy style, and it may be presumed that his work was designed to please the traditionally gentle and refined

folk of Kyoto, who would find uncouth the more violent developments elsewhere. Wakatuki believes that he did not attach much importance to providing a spectacle to please the eyes of his patrons with ingenious puppetry, but that he concentrated on the narration; his work can thus be considered as continuing that of the chanters of the previous age.

Even though Sisyoo-gawara, where he had his theatre, had been the birthplace of zyooruri, it did not maintain its preeminence, and already in Wakasa's time, the Kyoto puppet theatre was old-fashioned. It may perhaps be imagined that the families who had favoured the puppets with their patronage at the turn of the century lost interest in them when the novelty of their performance wore off, so that there was no great incentive to development. The vogue for female chanters, which was in any case unlikely to develop artistically, was brought to an end by government intervention, and again, the establishment of the centre of government in Edo meant that go-ahead people were attracted there.

Oosaka had even less to offer than Kyoto and the only reference Wakatuki can discover is to visits by Wakasa and Kunai from Kyoto.

In Edo, however, the puppet started on a period of intense development. Three chanters were active from a very early period. To call them rather anachronistically by

the names by which they are best known but which they did not possess from the beginning of their careers, these were Satuma Zyooun, Sugiyama Tango and Isezima Kunai. It is of no interest to embark upon a discussion in which some Japanese commentators become involved, namely whether these three men are really contemporary, or whether the last two were pupils of the first; it is simpler to treat them as of equal standing.

All three are believed to have come from Kyoto, or at least from western Japan. Zyooun's earlier names include Toraya Ziroemon and probably Kumano Koheita (although this may have been the name of his puppet-master). He had his early training in Kyoto, and the tradition has come down that he was a pupil of Sawazumi Kengyoo, whose name has been mentioned in connection with the development of syamisen playing.

It seems necessary to digress here to note that it is possible to classify the style of nearly all the chanters of the old-zyooruri period as either 'stiff' or 'flexible', and it usual to attribute this stiffness and flexibility to whichever of the two legendary early reciters, Sawazumi Kengyoo and Takino Kootoo, the chanter in question considers as the ancestor of his art. To what extent this classification corresponds to the actual phenomena it is impossible to say. the methods of training used in the traditional arts of Japan, in which paramount ~~importance~~ importance is laid on the oral

handing-down of instruction, with secret doctrines and strong loyalty of pupil to teacher, do mean that a style of performance can persist from one generation of pupils to another with surprisingly little change. But human memory is fallible and certain modifications could creep in over the years, and a chanter who acquired fame might seek to establish some individuality. Another factor which would lead one to suspect that the pattern is not so simple is the marked tendency for the Japanese when they consider almost any artistic or literary history to think in terms of clearly defined schools; this makes them oversimplify the influences that work upon the artist. In short, though one can divide chanters into the categories of 'stiff' and 'flexible', one cannot with any real certitude attribute these characteristics to the influence of the shadowy figures of Takino and Sawazumi. Wakasa in Kyoto was certainly of the 'flexible' type; Zyooun is 'stiff'.

Returning, then, to Zyooun's early history, we find that in the early 1620's he went to Edo and built himself a theatre there. In the earlier of his two surviving playbooks, which is dated 1634, he uses the bombastic title 'Tenka musoo Satuma-dayuu' - 'Senior Assistant Minister of Satuma, unequalled beneath the heavens'- and this became the pattern for most other chanters, who all called themselves 'Tenka musoo' or 'Tenka iti'. There is no need to repeat that his title 'Satuma-dayuu' was purely

honorary, and in fact it may very well have been quite unauthorised. He afterwards took the name Zyooun when he retired from the lay world and entered buddhism, this in a perfunctory sort of way, since it did not prevent him carrying on his profession as before. He is commonly known as Satuma Zyooun, and died in 1669.

The description of a puppet theatre left by Hayasi Razan probably records a visit to Zyooun's establishment; he says that the puppeteer was Koheita, a name borne either by Zyooun himself or one of his staff. There were

'puppets dressed as men, women, monks or laity, immortals, soldiers, horsemen and porters. There were dancers and those who raised fans and beat drums. Some leapt about and some rowed boats and sang. Some had been killed in battle, and their heads and bodies were separated. Some were dressed in the clothes of the gentry. Some shot arrows, some waved sticks, and some raised flags and bore aloft parasols. Some were dragons and snakes, and some were birds. Some were foxes and carried fire in their tails, at which all the spectators marvelled. The performance began at eleven in the morning and lasted until three that afternoon.....' (Keene, p. 20)

From this it is clear that Zyooun sought to dazzle his audiences by the spectacle he offered, and that his theatre developed the possibilities of its puppets to the best of its ability. The spectators in Edo, which in his time was in the first decades of its importance as the centre of the military government, favoured violent scenes in their theatres, and the references to heads and bodies being separated indicates the realism with which scenes of carnage could be portrayed when repairable puppets were the

only actors placed in jeopardy.

The two surviving plays already mentioned bear the titles 'Hanaya' and 'Kosode Soga'. The first has a fairly complicated story of the efforts of a brother and sister to save their father from his enemies and death; a summary is to be found in Keene, p. 20. It has opportunities for good puppet effects, with such events as a serpent appearing from a river to aid the hero and heroine. It is generally considered as the outstanding play of the pre-kinpira period, being theatrically more effective than, for example, the Zyooruri, ~~story which depends~~ for its success as a story to be read or recited upon its style and use of words, or 'Munewari' with its simple plot.

'Kosode Soga' is of course a version of the story of the Soga brothers and their avenging of their father's death. This play also exists as a mai-no-hon, although the connection between the two texts is not so close as is the case with 'Takadati', which may also have been in Zyooun's repertory, since an illustration exists which shows a poster advertising his performance of the play displayed at his theatre (Wakatuki Zy p. 108).

The scarcity of the surviving materials makes it difficult to generalise too confidently on the type of play that Zyooun favoured, but it would not perhaps be too rash to say that he leaned towards violent activity in his plots, the sources of which are in the military mai-no-hon, and

not in the buddhistic otogi-zoosi, and that in this he was reflecting the taste of his audiences.

The Edo chanter who is usually considered as 'flexible' as against Zyooun's 'stiffness' is Sugiyama Sitirooemon, who assumed the title of Tango no zyoo in 1652. He died in 1662 or 1663. He is ~~reported~~ as going from Kyooto to Edo in 1616 and there set up a theatre. In Kyooto he is said to have been a pupil of Takino, from whom his 'flexibility' would have derived. Little is in fact known about him; his one surviving playbook, 'Kiyomizu no gohonzi' - 'The origin of the Kiyomizu temple' - dated 1651, tells the story of a virtuous child who survives many perils and marries a beautiful girl who mysteriously appears to him. He is set tasks failure in which would involve his losing his wife to the Emperor, but with her help he performs them all. The Emperor is convinced that he is a buddha and builds the temple in his honour. This is much nearer to stories of the 'Munewari' type than those Zyooun performed, and it is possible that the obscurity which surrounds Sugiyama Tango by contrast with the great importance that is attached to Satuma Zyooun, is that the latter specialised in the kind of play which the coarse Edo crowds found more to their taste. The greater reputation of Zyooun was the cause of an erroneous tradition that he was Sugiyama's teacher.

The third member of the early trio of Edo chanters, Isezima Kunai, is thought to have originated, as his name suggests, in Ise, and may have been playing there in 1635.

He has appeared at times so slight a figure in comparison with Zyooun that he has been thought of as a pupil of one of his pupils, but the dates of his playbooks (1645-1651) suggest that he is Zyooun's junior by only a year or two, if at all, and he is now thought to be of the same generation. His plays show his preoccupation with military themes, and his favourite hero is clearly Yositone; in this he is maintaining the tradition started by the Zyooruri story. He describes himself in his playbooks as from Edo, presumably as evidence of the quality of his work, but in fact his stay there seems to have ended in 1651 or thereabouts, for he is then heard of as a competitor of Wakasa in Kyoto. Commentators think that he was forced to leave Edo on account of opposition by the Zyooun faction, since his pieces are of similar style and he may have been considered as a rival to be got rid of. It is thought that he died a year or two after going to Kyoto. His influence on the history of zyooruri was not great, but he was remembered in Kyoto, for a theatre there continued to bear his name long after his death.

There exist about ten playbooks from the pre-kinpira period which do not bear the names of chanters, and it is surmised that these were plays that were not in the repertory of only one chanter, but were common property. In spite of the differences that have been shown as existing between one chanter and another, the early period,

no gohonzi' is another example. 'Amida no honzi' tells of the life of a prince who finally became Amida. This story is said to have its first form in Japanese in 'Konzyaku monogatari' of the twelfth century, but it and other honzi-mono had been the subject of otogi-zoosi also. Wakasa's 'Suwa no honzi Kaneie' comes to some extent into the same category, although the background is Sinto rather than pure Buddhism. This story, too, appears in an earlier form, and is notable for the visit of its hero, Kooga no Saburoo Kaneie, to the underworld, from which he eventually emerges to become the deity of the shrine. It must be said that the religious content of the play is not very important, and that the hero's adventures are what must have caught the attention of the audience.

O-ie soodoo are tales which have to do with troubles in great families. In them a righteous man is murdered or persecuted in some way, and his family scattered. throughout the plot members of the family struggle to avenge or save their chieftain, and after feats of loyalty and sacrifice, and possibly the intervention of a buddha, succeed in restoring its unity and prosperity and destroying their enemy. It is not easy to find a suitable translation for the term o-ie soodoo, since most which come to mind have too domestic a ring, but these plays were to prove attractive to audiences for many years to come, both in the puppet and the live theatre. A well-known example is

'Hanaya', already mentioned, and Tango's 'Aguti no hangan' (1639) is also of interest; it forms a link between o-ie soodoo plays and the abduction theme. In it a family's fortunes are put in peril by the action of a wicked retainer. The father and **eldest** son die, but the mother escapes with two other children. They find themselves in the same boat as a slave-trader, who would have seized them had he not turned out to be a former servant of the dead lord. With his help the family is able to tell their story to the emperor, who delivers them from their enemies. The period in which these plays are set is a legendary past, resembling in externals the Heian period, or even earlier, when the emperor still had power, but in sentiment having much which is derived from the ideas of family loyalty which assumed so much more importance after the conflict between the Taira and the Minamoto.

The last group, abduction into slavery, is perhaps too restricted in theme to warrant independence, and could, as has been suggested, be linked with o-ie soodoo to form a single category. The activities of the hito-kai or slave-traders form the subject of more than one noo play, of which 'Sumida-gawa' is a good example. In the zyooruri field 'Sansyoo-dayuu', the story of a mother and her two children who were taken into slavery and separated, but who were finally united and saw their captors punished, exists in the 1630's in the sekkyoo repertory. 'Aguti no hangan' is in part very reminiscent of this story, with, however,

twist that the slave-trader, usually the villain, turns out to be the family's saviour. 'Muramatu', one of the playbooks without a chanter and printed in 1637, has a more complicated story, owing a certain amount to 'Sansyoo-dayuu', and also taking some elements, including the passing of the unfortunates through the hands of successive traders who each sell them for a higher price, from a mai-no-hon entitled 'Sinoda'.

This, then, is the outline of the repertory of the pre-kinpira period. The most important ingredient that it lacks is the treatment of the sort of love that was to ruin so many merchants in later plays. It is true that love and jealousy appear from time to time in this period, but only incidentally.

Although for a time the historical plays were to assume a vast importance, it was in the o-ie soodoo that lay the real seed from which were to spring many later pieces in which realism and well-observed psychology were to replace the miraculous occurrences and mechanical reactions to situations that characterised most of the pre-kinpira plays, and those of the kinpira period itself.

(b) The kinpira period.

The first generation of Edo chanters were all Kyooto trained, and they still retained sufficient of their early influences to prevent them from submitting entirely to the brash audiences that came to hear them and to see their puppets. The next generation, this time with no refined standards to look back to, were not so inhibited. Of course Zyooun had done more than Tango to adapt himself to the audiences of Edo, and Kunai specialised in plays involving deeds of military courage and violence, but nevertheless the texts of their plays show a literary quality which had been present in the sources from which much of their material derived. The next generation of chanters, however, included some who developed a type of play and a style of their own, which are thought of as constituting the real Edo Zyooruri. These chanters are all said to have been pupils of Zyooun; They include in their number Nagato no zyoo, Nidaime Satuma-dayuu (Satuma II), Izumi-dayuu (Sakurai Tanba no syoogyoo - 'under-governor of Tanba'), and Toraya Eikan. The biographical details of their careers are rather scanty. Nagato may have been senior in the group, since he seems to have acquired his title earlier than Tanba, and these two were certainly senior to the others. Nagato did not have a long life as a chanter, and his surviving playbooks are considered as dating from only three or four years in the latter half of the 1650's. Of Tanba's origins there are

many stories; how many of them can be believed it is impossible to say for they contain elements of the sort which might very well have been invented later. All that they amount to is that he was very strong (he had to be to do the work he did), that he ~~tried~~ other occupations before turning to zyooruri, that he yearned to become a soldier but did the next best thing by choosing warlike subjects for his plays. He is first heard of issuing a playbook in 1658, under the name of Izumi-dayuu. In 1662 he assumed the name of Tanba no syoozyoo. It will be best to refer to him as Tanba, even anachronistically, for he seems to have had a son in the same profession, who took the name Izumi when his father became Tanba. The two are very difficult to distinguish from one another, but where it is possible to isolate the son he will be known as Izumi.

Satuma II is thought to have been Zyooun's son. In 1659 he collaborated in a playbook with Nagato, under the name of Satuma Wakadayuu, but in the next year he appears under the name Satuma-dayuu, dropping the prefix Waka- ('young').

Toraya Eikan was originally known as Toraya Gendayuu, taking the former name probably in the late 1660's. He seems to have gone at one time to Oosaka and then returned to Edo. However, accounts are very inconsistent, and more than one person of the same name may be involved.

There is an anecdote which is given by Wakatuki and Kuroki and reproduced by Keene (p.23) with reservations about

its true relevance, which can at least serve to indicate the atmosphere that prevailed in Edo in the 1650's. It tells the story of a feud between warriors with no wars to fight and no demons to subdue, and the townsmen against whom they turn as substitutes enemies. Whether or not, as is claimed, the townsmen flocked to the puppet plays to see the dashing heroes conquer their wicked foes, and saw in their feats what they themselves would like to do to the warriors if they could, is very doubtful, but the story probably reveals the ease with which the thoughts of the inhabitants turned to fighting, and these thoughts would be partly stimulated, and the desire for violence that lay behind them partly satisfied, by seeing plays with violence as a theme.

All the chanters mentioned concentrated, then, on themes of warfare, fighting, and violence. Nagato is responsible for 'Ataka-Takadati', which combines the stories of plays in the noo and mai-no-hon repertory dealing with Yositone's flight from his brother and his death at Takadati. It is significant that this version returns to the mai-no-hon text of Takadati in completely omitting the tearful scene of parting between Suzuki Saburoo and his wife, which might have added a discordant note in the completely masculine plot, with its themes of loyalty to one's lord and of military prowess. Nagato was also responsible for another 'Hukiage', a development of the story of Yositone's illness and abandon-

ment that had appeared in the Zyooruri story. Satuma II ('Hakone-yama kassen' - 'The battle of Mount Hakone') was working on very similar lines.

Toraya Eikan can be taken as a subsidiary chanter to Tanba, who was by far the most important of them all, and had the good fortune to light upon a group of characters who had already occupied a place in the Hearts of the Japanese as the 'four heavenly kings' or 'four deva kings' ('Sitennoo'). They had appeared in the Sword chapter that is attached sometimes to 'Heike monogatari' and sometimes to 'Taiheiki', under the names of Tuna, Kintoki, Sadamiti and Suetake, retainers of Yorimitu or Raikoo. There is a translation of this episode in Sadler (p.326 - 329). It tells how Watanabe Tuna, the mightiest of the retainers, is sent by Raikoo on an errand. As he was crossing the 1st Street bridge at Horikawa, he came across a beautiful maiden, who later turned into a demon and flew off with him. He cut through the demon's arm with the sword that Raikoo had lent him, and fell safely to the ground, with the arm. He was advised to shut himself up in religious seclusion for seven days, and see nobody, but his aunt came to him and begged for admittance. When he granted her request, she proved to be the demon who had assumed the appearance of his aunt, and flew off, taking her arm with her.

This episode is made into the first section of Tanba's 'Uzi no hime-giri' - 'The wounding of the Uzi maiden' -

this being the demon's name. The rest of the play is taken up with a campaign by Raikoo and his 'four deva kings'. The playbook appeared in 1658, and is remarkable for recording the name of the author, Oka Seibei (Keene is alone in calling him Kiyobei). Most of Tanba's plays were written by this man, but nothing else is known of him. Keene gives the source of the 'deva kings' as the noo play 'Sakanomidoozi' (p.24). He is presumably referring to Syutendoozi, the name of the demon which appears in the noo play 'Ooeyama'. This is not an early noo play, and is certainly later in ^dfate than the episode of the Uzi maiden, in the Sword chapter.

In 'Ooeyama' the four retainers and another warrior go out on a demon hunt disguised as yamabusi. They track down one demon called Syutendoozi, who haunts Ooeyama; he gives them hospitality because he has sworn not to harm buddhist priests. They all drink together, and he is killed while sleeping.

Although no early text of a zyooruri 'Syutendoozi' has survived, the diary of the governor of Yamato mentions it among the titles of playbooks he remembered in 1661, and he records several performances from 1662 onwards. In 1660, too, there appeared a play of Satuma II, 'Syutendoozi wakazakari' - 'Youth of Syutendoozi' - which bears the marks of being a sequel to a play telling the main story. There is thus a fair presumption that round about the same

time as 'Uzi no hime-giri' appeared, there were also performances of 'Syutendoozi', and that these started the fashion for plays with these heroes. In the following year or two several came out under the names of Tanba and Eikan. Their popularity was exceeded, however, when in 1662 or thereabouts, original plays began to be composed with the heroes no longer Tuna, Kintoki and the rest, but the sons of these two, named Taketuna and Kinpira. In 1662 a Tanba playbook, 'Kinpira Hokkoku-zeme' - 'Kinpira attacks the North' - appeared, and was followed by almost a score with the same characters over more than twenty years. In fact until well past the end of our period, kinpira plays were still being printed, and presumably performed. The reason for Kinpira's particular popularity is probably that when he was thought up he was given a certain irresponsibility and fallibility that made him, for all the improbability of his exploits, a human figure, in which the audiences could perhaps see the reflection of themselves. Added to this, he became to some extent a figure of fun, cracking grim jokes and winning laughter thereby. Tanba is said to have added to the effect by beating out the rhythm of the action with a two-foot long iron bar. He kept up his strength by cracking boulders, and used to break up the fittings and dismember dolls in the frenzy of his chanting.

In 1657 a great area of Edo had been destroyed in a fire. One of the results was that in 1661 a new theatre

district was established, the main centre of which was in Sakai-tyoo. There Tanba built his new theatre and carried on his staging of kinpira plays. The townsfolk are said to have needed entertainment to help them recover from the shock of the fire, and to have become thereby even more avid followers of the puppet plays, which also benefitted from the fact that the 'deva kings' and their offspring were retainers of Raikoo (Minamoto Yorimitu) or some other Minamoto lord, who was always portrayed in a good light. The Tokugawa military rulers could find no fault with this, for they themselves were sprung from Minamoto stock.

The language of the kinpira plays became extremely simple and the action, too, became less complicated than that of their predecessors. Every character behaved in the way that was expected of him, no emotions of pity, love or sympathy were aroused, there were no tragic moments.

They form such an important section of the old zyooruri that a translation of a typical play is included in this thesis. This is of 'Kinpira tengu mondoo' - 'Kinpira and the Goblin' - which seems to have been first given in the early sixties (Wakatuki Ko I p.791) under the name 'Yoritika hutatabi gyakusin' - 'Yoritika's double treachery'. A text said to date from the 1690's is in the library of the Tooyoo bunko in Tookyoo, and another, dated 1st month, 1716, attributed to Izumi-dayuu (probably Tanba's son), exists in KBT (p. 763 ff.).

It will be seen that the story is more or less a reworking of 'Uzi no hime-giri', with Kinpira taking the place of Tuna as the cutter-off of the demon's arm, although that primary incident occurs before the action of the play starts. No attempt has been made in the translation to embellish the language, which has no claim to literary merit. What will be noticed is that opportunities are given throughout for spectacular effects from the puppets - the heads that are sent flying or are wrenched from bodies, the giant **serpent** cut in two in a sea of blood. The overall impression is of an efficient professional production with no object other than giving the audience what it wanted, with no edification and no food for thought; but also, of course, no departures from the standard code of loyalty.

Kinpira and the Goblin.

I

Well now, to proceed; when one considers the manifold happenings of the past and present, if those in high station govern rightly, and those in low observe their laws, the country is indeed free from disturbance.

Now the lord Minamoto no Yoriyosi, in the fighting in the East, had no difficulty in capturing General Yoritika alive, and he returned in triumph to the Capital. And he went to the Palace, and when he had given the Mikado his humble report on the fighting, His Majesty was pleased to be not a little moved. He said "In truth, Yoritika, you are the son of Raikoo, and so for a time I shall have you emprisoned; later once again you shall appear before me" and he swiftly lowered his bamboo curtain. Yoriyosi for his part took the prisoner with him and returned to his dwelling. In his palace a prison house was newly provided and he thrust Yoritika therein, under a close guard. Next he summoned Kinpira and thinking that when he had cut off the goblin's arm he would have made an enemy of it, he summoned a diviner, Abe no Sukune, and commanded him to tell the import of his divination. Sukune obeyed and after a little thought said "As your Lordship surmised, the goblin still bears a grudge, and there is no doubt at all that within seven days he will do some desperate deed. The best thing for Kinpira to do is to remain in seclusion for

seven days". When he had thus explained the circumstances, and Kinpira had listened, the latter laughed and said "What a lot of talk! What kind of thing can happen? Aha, I should like him to come now! I should not bother with his other arm but try and catch him alive". Taketuna heard him "Now, Kinpira, you must treat divination with respect; the first thing you must do is to remain in strict seclusion for these seven days." Kinpira laughed "There's Taketuna pretending to know all about it! I think I'll take this arm and wing I've cut off, cross the Haguro mountain and confront the rascal." He sprang to his feet, but his General restrained him. "See, Kinpira, it isn't as if there are no previous instances of this sort of thing. My ancestor Tada no Manzyuu, cut off a goblin's horn, and within three days he'd had it taken back from him. And Watanabe no Tuna, too, lopped off a demon's arm at the Rasyoo Gate, and it turned into an old woman and got its arm back. Just for a mere seven days it will be against your interest to meet anybody." Kinpira was powerless before his lord's command. "So, one and all, have pity on Kinpira, under house arrest for no crime at all" he said and returned home to his mansion. He gave his commands to all his retainers, and fastened the main gate. He put the devil's arm into a chest, and of the five feet three inches blade of his sword Ubakiri-maru, as long as he was high, he withdrew six or seven inches from its scabbard. His bow, made of a single branch, and his ever-beloved two-edged halberd, he stood to his right and

to his left. Then, pouring wine into a large jar, he addressed it thus: 'Bravo my friend, my good friend. Your warmth is like a landscape in Spring; you're as refreshing as the Autumn moon. The Kasima's the shrine for true vows and I should like to tie on a Hitati girdle. How pleasant the vows made before the god there."¹ Thus he sang his fuddled ditty, and as he drank again, the night drew on to midnight. Then, what was that, suddenly a figure appeared. "Horror! The rascal they told me about is here" he thought; putting his hand to his sword and looking more closely, he sees it is his father Kintoki, who says in a resolute tone "Greetings, Kinpira, when you cut off the demon's arm the other day, you performed a deed rarely equalled it will increase your family's name. Oh, how I miss the old days!" and he was choked with sobs. At this sight, Kinpira exclaimed "Aha, I mustn't forget that Ibaragi"² tricked Tuna" and he wondered if he should strike at him and slay him; but he looked again and saw that it was exactly his father's likeness, and thought that it would be sacrilegious. "Shall I strike at him to see if he changes his shape" he thought, ^{and} said "Be that as it may. In what sort of place is your residence at present?" Kintoki replied

1. This refers to a ceremony at the Kasima shrine in Hitati province, in which the names of men and women are written on girdles, and tied together to ensure a lasting marriage. Kinpira seems to be bemoaning his bachelor state in his cups.
2. Name of Tuna's aunt in whose shape his demon appeared.

"I am ashamed to tell it, but I wander in the Hell of Slaughter. The demons are filling the empty sky, to try to steal back from you the arm and wing you struck off. So I have asked leave from Enma and come hither. Bring it out and let me have it right away." Kinpira now realised the trick but pretended that he didn't and replied in a discourteous tone "Indeed, it was very kind of you to come so far to this world for the sake of your love for your son, but I am prevented by my lord's command from showing it to you." When the apparition hears this he shouts "Can it possibly be that you can do such a thing to me when I have come so far? For that I'll disown you for seven whole existences, get that in your head!" Kinpira replies "What's this about disowning? My father Kintoki would not be so weak as that. It's my guess that I've met you at Yahagi, and you're the priest of Taisen.¹ You've tried really hard to trick me! Come on, I conjure to change your shape." The apparition was now speechless. "Now you've thwarted my hopes." And straightway he flew off in retreat. Kinpira strikes out like a flash with his sword and cuts off the other arm as he disappeared into the clouds and stands gazing after him. "So I was right" he says. All, without exception, marvelled at this, as a famous deed very seldom equalled.

1. Presumably Kinpira had encountered the goblin at Yahagi, in this disguise.

II

Then, after striking off the goblin's other arm, Kinpira finished his seven days of seclusion and went to the Palace. When he came into his lord's presence, he told briefly what had happened and showed the arms he had cut off. One and all, from Lord Yoriyosi down, exclaimed "Kinpira is no ordinary being" and rolled their tongues in amazement. Thereupon Taketuna admonished him. "Now, Kinpira, true enough, there are no words to describe what you have done in this affair; however, now that you have made an enemy of a goblin, make quite certain not to do anything careless." In the bottom of his heart Kinpira was doubtful about this advice, but out of deference to his lord he said "I have taken to heart all you have said. In the circumstances, I shall remain shut up in my dwelling for four or five days." Of this we say nothing further.

Near Yoritika's prison, two travelling priests appear and address him thus "Listen Yoritika; on that previous occasion the reinforcements were of no avail, and most unexpectedly we incurred heavy losses. But now once more, rise to overthrow the country's rulers! For the general of Tikuzen and Hyuuga, Nirayama Syoogen Yukinobu, is a mighty man of courage and has a powerful army too. If you will trust yourself to us, we will stir up the beginnings of a revolt, and we can all be of assistance to each other. Come with us!" and without more ado they

pulled open the window bars of the prison. One of them takes on Yoritika's appearance and remains in the jail, while the other goes off with Yoritika, and they fly away, high into the sky. Of this we say nothing further.

Now the general of Tikuzen and Hyuuga, Nirayama Syoogen, was possessed of an evil spirit, and suddenly became filled with resentment against the reign. He said "It was not long ago that my family branched off from the imperial line and to whom am I inferior in bows and arrows and forged weapons? It grieves me to rot away as guardian of one or two provinces. I shall appoint a good commander and try my fortune." As he was thus in a loud voice addressing his retainers drawn up before him, Yoritika and the demon came to Hyuuga. "This is the spot I spoke of" the travelling priest told him, and disappeared who knows whither. Yoritika thought 'Now my plan will succeed' and entering unannounced, he sat himself down in the highest seat. "I greet you, friend. You are Nirayama Syoogen are you not? I am Yoritika of the family of Minamoto. My desire is to rule this land, and I have come to you for help." Yukinobu was astounded. "Say you so, my lord? May your designs prosper; I offer your lordship my life in this venture. As a beginning, shall we attack Taketi no Genta Yasumoto in his fortress?" From one side and another he gathered together twenty thousand or more horsemen, and striking out from Hyuuga, they push forward, on towards Tikugo. When they

reach the fortress of Kawase, they raise their warcry. Now Taketi had a serious attack of the ague and was lying unconscious. Nevertheless the warden of the fortress, Kamimura Genzoo Tomokiyo, called out to them from the watch tower at the main gate. "What a disturbance for so little a thing! Declare your names!" Thereupon Yoritika rides forward, "I am Yoritika of the family of Minamoto. Open your castle and yield it. If you refuse, I shall crush you underfoot." Thus he boasted, making a great din. Kamimura listened. "What, Yoritika? I hear that in the fighting in the East a little while ago you were captured alive, but in spite of that disgrace, you've escaped from prison and wandered hither, have you?" I myself am an unimportant person, but this is the castle of Takeki no Genta, lord of Tikuzen. You are here for no good, so look out for wounds. Ho, warriors, out and drive them away!" "We come" they reply, and opening the great door, they burst forth, and fight as if resolved there to die. Into the midst of this great army rushed one Tooyama Rikkai Zyoosyun, a mighty warrior priest, full seven feet high, holding outstretched a staff of boxwood, with which he laid men low to right and left. So great is his strength that none can draw near him. Kamimura can bear this no longer, and holding his white-handled halberd neath his arm he shouts "You're a mighty fighter, Tooyama" and they meet with a crash. He has his halberd knocked down by Syoosyun's whistling staff, and just as all seems lost with

him, he suddenly rushes in and seizes hold, but Syoosyun, again making light of the matter, raises him high in the air. "Say your prayers, Kamimura" he cries and with one twist he hurls him from him. But he rights himself in the air and stands laughing. "What are you doing, Syoosyun?" Syoosyun is greatly angered and runs up to him to seize him, but Kamimura pushes him back and pierces him through and strikes off his head into the air. Crying "Look thus at the skill of Taketi's men" he enters the fortress. All without exception marvelled at that deed of Kamimura's, saying, "In truth, a feat of great repute."

III

Then Kamimura, night having already fallen, went into his general's presence. "How does your lordship?" he asked, and reported on the state of the fighting and who had fallen fighting on their side. Then Taketi raised himself from his pillow and said "Such is my admiration for your valour today that there are no words to describe it. I entrust everything to you, Tomokiyo. I know I am ill but will you not let me do what I want to ? While my loyal retainers are fighting, I cannot bear not to see what is afoot. I may at least go outside the postern" and he took his sword and stood up. But Kamimura takes hold of his sleeve. "What are you about? I am sure that if this battle is fought for day after day, during that time a reserve army

will come from the Capital. But should you be carried away by your boldness and be killed in the fighting, my lord, Tikuzen will fall to the enemy. I beg you, recover your health, and await reinforcements from the Capital. In the meanwhile, I shall not allow the castle to fall." In this and other ways he advises him, and returns to his quarters. As soon as day broke, he went once more to the sallyport. When he was at the fortifications, and giving his orders for the fighting, one Kinugawa Heizî, who had been concealed among some trees since the evening before, saw what was toward and at once bent his bow and let fly. Alas and alack, the arrow plunged into the side joint of his armour. It was a sore wound, and he fell with a crash from his horse. Thereupon Heizî, without a moment's delay, runs up to him, and, taking his head, seeks to retire. But Matuda no Sitiroo, in a flash, runs up and, aiming a blow at his thigh, cuts him to the ground; as he falls, he strikes off his head into the air. He takes it with that of Kamimura, and presents himself before his commander, telling him quickly what had occurred. Taketi was overcome with grief as he listened. "What, Kamimura, are you struck down? This is the end of my name as a soldier. This castle will be impossible to hold. How long can it last out?" He suddenly retired to his curtained dais, and donned his armour with the green and white strings, girded on his great sword, five feet three inches long, and had Sazanamikuro, his steed, saddled. He then swiftly mounted and rode forth. His retainers caught

hold of the horse and pulled it to a halt saying "It is an imprudent thing that you do, my lord. " Yasumoto replied "There are times when it is right to take care of one's life. When I went up to the Capital I had converse with Kinpira and if I fought this battle in a weak manner, even if I lived, my words would not carry weight with such as he. Stand back, then" . And he charged into the midst of the enemy, slashing to right and left. It was beyond the strength of man and horse and while the retainers were waiting to see the outcome, Sazanamikuro was wounded by an arrow and galloped back, bleeding heavily. Those who saw it exclaimed "By the three holy treasures, has our lord then been slain? How bitter a blow! Let us tell our lady about this." And they went within, telling her through her servant Ayame what had happened. Her ladyship listened and cried "If this be true, what sadness! Let me gaze just one moment on the horse he was riding when he fell." She went out on to the veranda and wept unceasingly. Her maid saw this and said "To grieve now seems of no avail. Rather than that such a one as Taketi's lady should die by another's hand, speedily you should slay yourself" and she wept without respite. Then, o sight to raise pity, she dressed the young masters, aged three and five, in white ceremonial clothes, and, loosening the cords of their daggers, she stood them side by side before their mother, saying "The young lords have come". Then all sat down on the veranda. Taketi's wife

stroked the young lords' hair and said to them "Woe is me, your noble father has been killed. Now, Hanaiti, let us go to where your father is" and she took him by the hand. At the word father, such is the uncertainty of his childish mind, he said, with great joy, "He'll pick some flowers to give me, as he always does. Turukimi, you come too." He was very happy, and his lady mother was torn by her feelings but slowly, as if her heart failed her and she could not bring herself to do the deed, she drew the dagger and was about to slay them, when they flew to the knee of their nurse, crying "Oh, we are frightened. We have done nothing wrong. You must come with us wherever we go" and they clung to her, weeping. Their lady mother, torn by her feelings, threw the dagger from her and wept too. Upon this scene there suddenly rushes in Taketi. His lady was as in a dream, and could not understand. She clung to him and told him what had happened. He said "In truth, that was a perilous moment. Had we lost our young sons thus in error, we should have never ceased to grieve. However ill I might be, should I be easily slain? Come what may, I had my heart set upon grappling with Yoritika, but as I did not know his face, that was of no avail. When I had cut down two or three hundred ordinary soldiers, my illness quite disappeared. Now I am recovered, the castle certainly will not fall, thanks be." And he went within. In sooth, none there were who did not admire him as a hero who had won great renown.

IV

After that, the time being the third day of the third month, in the Capital, as was the annual family custom of the house of Minamoto, sprays of plum blossom were plucked and placed in water. There was feasting the whole day long, with many dishes set out with food, and uproar throughout the Palace. Then the lord, becoming genial in his cups, commanded "Come Taketuna, play a tune." "Willingly, my lord", and he sang, with great dignity, the song called 'The branch of Hoorai pine' - "Through the thousand years this pine shall live, and even this pine's descendants, Spring will come round for the Genzi line. In East and West, South and North no enemy will there be. Bows and swords will be stored away, and the happy land will be at peace." Once more he was made to sing it, then Yoriyosi, with joy unbounded, raised his cup. Thereupon Kinpira, drawing his waist-sword, jumped to his feet and performed a dance. "O what joy! With bowstring stretched and sword not sheathed in scabbard, enemy and friend together, to cut off heads and make blood flow in waterfalls, o what good fortune!" - thus did he sing as he danced. Then the lord's expression changed, and the whole company was silent. Taketuna saw this. "Fie upon you, Kinpira - to do such a thing during so joyful a feast! Control yourself!" he said. Kinpira, hearing this, said "I am greatly obliged for my lord Taketuna's condescension. I have drunk too much of my

lord's wine, and beg forgiveness for my rudeness. However poems are the pastimes of nobles, and war the pursuit of soldiers. So, in honour of this festive occasion, I'll pluck off my head and eat it with wine, then that'll be the end of my performance", and he gave a forced laugh. The lord too laughed greatly, and Taketuna was wondrous amazed; then all was a flood of amusement. In the midst of it, one Kumomura Hyoogo, an inhabitant of Suoo, riding a swift horse, comes galloping straight up to the Palace. "In sooth the lord Yoritika has gone over to Tikusi, has plotted with Nirayama Syoogen, has gone up against Taketi's castle and has offered him battle. It happens that Taketi is ill, so I beg you to order that he receive reinforcements at once" he reported. When the general hears this he says "This is mysterious. Go and see whether Yoritika is still in his cell." "As my lord commands" and Tamura no Gyoobu ran off, and returned, saying "There is no doubt that he is still in the prison". But straightway the retainer on guard ran in. "The man who was Lord Yoritika until just now suddenly became a goblin and flew off up into the sky" he told them panting heavily. The general was startled. "If this is so,,Taketi may have lost his castle. We must hasten to send an expedition as swiftly as we can" he said. When Kinpira heard this he said "This man's treachery at this moment is the result of the foolish dance I danced. How could your choice fall upon another? Entrust me with the task." In reply the general said "Yoritika will be different from other foes. It would

be wrong if Yoriyosi did not go against him. Your part will be in the vanguard; let us leave forthwith." They left the Capital at once, took ship from the bay of Naniwa, and as they speedily plied their oars, they went by famous place after famous place. When their ships came to the province of Bungo, they rested for a while. During this halt, Taketuna and Kinpira were going hither and thither to examine the fortifications, when they discovered a large pond to their left. On account of the portentous colour of its water, they thought that surely there must be some legend about it. So they called an old man from the village and asked him for information. "Well now, in days of old, there was an extremely jealous woman who threw herself into this pond and from the intensity of her passion she became a venomous reptile; in the end she caught her husband and killed him. Afterwards, through the efficacy of the scriptures, she was pacified. This I have heard, but recently she has become violent again, and several travellers, not knowing the circumstances, and that it is called the Serpent Pond, have been taken. Please, all of you, before the same happens to you, be sure to go away quickly". This he tells them hurriedly and flees. When he had heard the tale Kinpira said "What say you Taketuna? One who holds the country in despite is an enemy of our lord, and an unusual one at that. Can we hear such a story and go away? Even though it be a great serpent twenty fathoms long, what would that avail it?" He jumped from the bank and called out "Ho there, serpent in

the pond, why do you not come out when men are here?" Suddenly a wind arose, the water clouded, and from the farther side the serpent rushed out, shaking its horned bull's head. Kinpira thought, "This is the moment" and dashes boldly in. Taketuna sees it and leaps into the fight with a shout. He struck it through and through, his hilt and fist thrust deep. This weakened it and Kinpira laid it open with a blow, and cut in to at its middle.¹ As it writhed and reared they held it down and gave it its quietus. "It caused more trouble than we expected" thought Kinpira, and hoisted it on his back. Off he went soaked in its blood. None there were who did not admire the work these two had done.

1. See illustration T.

V

After that, in Tikusi, night and day there was no end to the fighting, and replacements of new troops were sent in to the attack. The warriors in the castle had thus many wounded and many dead. Taketi thought this was the end and summoned to him his retainers. "Our soldiers' provisions and our store of arrows are exhausted, and there is no means of replenishing them. Let us charge tonight into the great general's lines, and resolve to die together; I shall kill my wife and children, and willingly die with you." Thus he spoke and swiftly departed from where he was.

Now the son of Murasawa Syoozi, Kage-tu by name, had unexpectedly aroused his father's displeasure and had withdrawn from his presence, but when he heard that the castle was about to fall, he said to himself "What is this? I hear that reinforcements from the Capital will reach this place within fifteen days. I must somehow tell the castle of this" and secretly he began to go through the lines. The enemy warriors saw him and seized him with cries of "Look, a spy." They reported the capture to Syoogen. He heard this news and thought it an excellent stroke of fortune. "See here, young man, forget Taketi's wishes and follow me. Go to the postern and say these words 'The reinforcements from the Capital have recently encountered a west wind and are now at the bottom of the sea. What more have you to hope for? It would be best for you to dispatch yourselves at once. I have come to this

place to give you these tidings. I shall wait for you on the mountain of death.' Then pretend to cut your belly. If you serve me well in this, a province will be yours."

Kagetu thought in his heart that this was a strange affair, but nevertheless he replied "Your words are most gratifying to me. I shall do all your bidding" and with some common soldiers he hastened to the opposing position. When he had drawn near the postern, he made a great din, shouting aloud "This is Kagetu, son of Murasawa. Though I have incurred my father's displeasure, I have returned to my former loyalty, so please believe in my sincerity. Yoriyosi has already reached the soil of Kyuusyu. Do not needlessly take your lives." The two who had come with him and were concealed exclaimed "What a scoundrel you are!" and fell on him with their swords. One he felled with the weapon in his left hand, and he grappled with the other. When the fell, each was pierced with the other's blade. None there were who did not lament his end.. Nirayama heard of it and was enraged. "I have been tricked by this young villain." He went into the general's presence. 'I hear that the troops from the Capital have come as far as Suoo. I shall go out to meet them and prevent them from disembarking." Taking with him a part of his forces, he hastened off to Buzen.

By this time the lord Yoriyosi had already reached the coast there, but when he sought to bring his ships near the shore, the forces of Tikusi who were waiting there attacked them

and pressed them to such good effect that two large vessels were forced under water and sank to the bottom. The remaining ships were unable to advance, and when Kinpira sees this he straightway becomes enraged. "No arrow " thinks he "will pierce my armour" and, dragging his horse from the hold of the ship, he casts it into the sea. Then he leaps lightly into the saddle, and makes it swim through the opposing waves. The enemy in their thousands see him approach and forthwith all break ranks and flee. From among them Nirayama and with him one companion seek to save the situation and shout "Kinpira is only human". They strike at him, but he leaps from his horse, seizes them one in left hand and one in right, and exclaims "Kinpira may be only human but he's very different from you" and he twists off their heads. He glares at the fleeing enemy but generously forbears to pursue them. None there were who did not admire Kinpira's conduct.

VI

Thereupon Lord Yoriyosi landed from his ship, and rode swiftly forward on his steed. At this the enemy comes at him from a position directly opposite. Kinpira, at this sight, exclaims "Here is today's sport" and charges out at them, but, to his astonishment, what had appeared appeared to be the enemy was Taketi. Soon he took him before his lord to make his obeisance. Yoriyosi's joy knew no bounds. "What, Taketi, I heard you were sick and set out, travelling night and day. But now my anxiety is set at rest; what of the enemy?" Taketi replied "Yes, my lord, five days ago they withdrew, and I received a report that Yoritika was at the beach of Tatara in Tikuzen." Yoriyosi said "Let us then go together to the beach of Tatara. We ought not to hasten, but should give men and horses a breathing space. So we strictly forbid any to ride ahead." Taketuna passed the order down, and they all encamped. During this operation, Hirai no Kiyouzi and Usui no Sadaharu came together. "See here, Kiyouzi, in the battle that will ensue, Kinpira will be in the van. Unless we ride ahead, there will not be for us the fighting we should like." Kiyouzi listened and replied "Your thought show your wisdom; I think as you do. Let us therefore go in secret; forward!" and they went to the enemy camp. They halted on a slightly elevated spot and made a great din. "This is Hirai no Kiyouzi and with him Usui no Sadaharu. We are the first to reach the gate. If any will

match with us, let him meet us here." Thus did he challenge them. When Kunikado, lord of Suruga, heard this he immediately shouted "Have these rascals come here then?" and dashed forward to chase them away. Thereupon Kiyouzi dealt him a blow with his sword and cleft him on his left side through the belly right down to his saddle. At the same moment Sadaharu mowed down seven or eight of the enemy horsemen. "Come on, to the postern and break it down" they cried and together they galloped in. At this Taketuna leapt out from the right hand side and joyfully shouted "Ah my young lords, I have been waiting here since early on, to control anyone riding ahead. For the deed you have just performed, Yoriyosi will reward you both". The up rode Kinpira, leading a large army, and when he saw what was happening he cried "What, Taketuna! You looked so approving when the order came out banning riding on ahead; I don't think you are the real Taketuna at all, but a fox or a badger." Taketuna replied "No no, it was nothing like that. Ask these two what happened.

Kinpira exclaimed "They are cunning foxes from the same earth. There's no getting away from it, I was given the foremost position in the attack. Get out of here, you're in my way!" He then drove into the thousands of enemies, and laid about him with his sword, north, south, east and west, and piled up corpses into heaps. Yoritika and Nirayama saw that it was now or never, and slashed at him, but Kinpira thought "Now's the time" and split Nirayama clean

down the middle , and grappled fiercely with Yoritika. "He won't give us the trouble he did last year," he thought and kicked him to the ground. "If I spare him I'll regret it" so he wrenched off his head. When he showed it to the general, his rejoicing knew no bounds, and he led his army away from the camp. All thought how powerful was Yoriyosi, and how he was destined for greater and greater prosperity, and none there were who were not filled with admiration.

It may be taken that most Edo Kinpira plays are of the same pattern as 'Kinpira and the Goblin' and in fact little would be gained by lingering over them. Although they were by far the dominant feature of the puppet plays of the 1660's, they were not completely without rivals, both in Edo and the west of Japan.

In Edo, one hears of a pupil of Tango active in the late 50's and after. He took the title of Oomi no daizyoo in 1655 or thereabouts, and later assumed the buddhistic name of Gosai. His one remaining playbook, 'Rokusonnou Tunemoto' (1659) is of the current violent type, but a point of particular interest is that he took up his residence in the Yosiwara, already the brothel quarter of **Edo**, and had many pupils among its inhabitants. He seems to have performed only rarely with puppets, and to have been an early example of what was later to be a common phenomenon, the chanter whose mode of performance was adjusted to the restaurant or salon rather than the theatre. He is said to have returned to a more gentle style when not in the theatre.

Kinpira plays were not long in reaching Kyooto and Cosaka. Toraya Gendayuu is thought to have been the teacher of one Toraya Kadayuu who went to Kyooto in 1657 and performed in the theatre district there. Wakasa was probably no longer at work; he may have been dead, and Isezima Kunai as well. Kadayuu, whether or not he was

Gendayuu's pupil, was almost certainly descended artistically from Zyooun, because the name Toraya was traditional in his school. It is very probable that he left Edo because of the great fire. He had considerable success in Kyooto and in the year after his arrival received the title of Kazusa no syoozyoo. Playbooks of his exist bearing dates from 1663 to 1677, and they show the usual adaptability of the chanters in that, although they conform very largely to the prevailing vogue for Kinpira and his companions, considerable concessions are made to the more delicate palates of Kypoto. To take an example, in the earliest of his playbooks, 'Kinpira hoomon arasoi' - 'Kinpira's dispute on doctrine' - the plot of the noo play 'Manzyuu' is used and there is an addition of softer emotions alongside the usual swashbuckling. The plot of 'Manzyuu' is given by O'Neill (p. 100) as follows: 'Tada no Manzyuu has sent his son Bizyo to be educated in a temple. When the boy returns, Manzyuu is so enraged by his neglect of his studies that he goes to strike him with his sword, but his faithful retainer restrains him. At this, Manzyuu orders him to kill Bizyo himself. Unable to ignore the order altogether, and yet finding it impossible to kill his master's son, the ~~retainer~~, Nakamitu, finally resolves his dilemma by killing instead his own son, Koozyu, who himself asked to be allowed to take Bizyo's place. When Manzyuu later regrets the hastiness which has led, he thinks, to the death of his

son, Bizyo is brought back to him by a priest from the temple where Nakamitu had sent him to hide. Learning of the extent of Nakamitu's devotion, Manzyuu pardons his son and then asks his retainer to perform a dance for them. This Nakamitu does, in celebration of the reconciliation, but all the time his thoughts are on his own son whom he has sacrificed to serve his lord.'

The summary of the plot of 'Kinpira hoomon arasoi' which follows will indicate the extent of its dependence upon 'Manzyuu', and also its innovations.

I. Minamoto Yoriyosi was a fervent believer in buddhism in his old age, and he thought to have one of his three sons, Yosimune, become a priest, and have him pray for the happiness of his soul after his death. He would entrust the head-shaving to the priest Man-yoo. Yosimune, who had no liking for the religious life, sought to avoid it by turning to Kinpira. The latter agreed to help him, and in the belief that Man-yoo had been the originator of the plan to make Yosimune a monk, he went to his residence and engaged him in a religious disputation. At the end of this he said "If you can escape from fire through the power of the buddhist law, try escaping my sword." And he attacked him with it. The priest fled in terror, whereupon Kinpira declared that he would not allow Yosimune to be ordained by such a worthless priest.

II. Kinpira's insulting behaviour to the priest

was unheard-of and Yoriyosi ordered Yosimune's brother, Yosie, to slay him and Kinpira. They all bewailed the necessity of undertaking a conflict which their ties of blood and friendship made repugnant to them, but there was no avoiding his orders.

III. Yosie called Watanabe Kunituna to him and discussed with him his tragic task of killing his own brother. Kunituna said that his own son, Takewakamaru, had declared his wish to die before the age of fifteen and to become thereby an object of admiration for the world. He was a handsome boy, too, so why not slay him in Yosimune's place, and spirit Yosimune and Kinpira away somewhere, to wait for Yoriyosi's anger to die down? They induced Yosimune to agree to the plan and approached Kinpira to persuade him too. For a time Kinpira, saying that he would not want to live on ^{refused but} in a world full of such mean actions, ^{finally}, however, consented, in appreciation of Takewakamaru's magnanimity. They planned to set fire to the castle and pretend that the two victims had died in the flames. Instead, however, they would go together and hide in the Isiyama temple. One day, when the sun was setting, flames rose from the castle, and Yosie burst his way in. He took away false proofs of carrying out his orders, and reported the completion of his task to Yoriyosi.

Yoriyosi's wife, not knowing that her son was safely hidden away, called Yosie to her and listened to how his

brother had died. Then she recalled how at the time of their ancestor Manzyuu, his third son had incurred his father's displeasure, and on that occasion Nakamitu had killed his own son as a substitute, and in the end the affection between father and son had been most happily restored. She bewailed the absence of such loyal retainers nowadays and wondered how Yosie could possibly have brought himself to kill his brother. Yosie considered whether or not to reveal the secret to her, but thinking of the unreliability of women, and of the consequences should Yoriyosi hear of the plot, he decided to keep silent.

IV. Kinpira is in attendance on Yosimune in the temple where they are concealed; they compare their hard life today with the luxury that was theirs before, and wait impatiently for their fortunes to improve. Kunituna and Yosimitu, Yoriyosi's third son, visit them there, and Yosimitu tells his brother of their mother's grief. Kinpira again puts the blame for the whole affair on the priest Man-yoo. The two brothers part in sorrow. That night the moon shone bright and Yosimune gazed upon it and prayed to Kannon for help.

V. The god Hatiman, protector of the Minamoto clan, decided to have the Emperor bring about a reconciliation between Yoriyosi and his son. A messenger was sent to the Isiyama temple, insisting upon Yosimune's return to the Capital. Yoriyosi, Yosie, Yosimitu and Kunituna were

summoned to the Emperor's presence; following his instructions, Yoriyosi forgave his son, and ordered Yosie to go and fetch him. Yosie replied that he had slain him at the command of Yoriyosi. Yoriyosi, however, declared that, just as in Manzyuu's time, Nakamitu had saved Bizyo, he did not believe that Yosimune was dead, and that he had only ordered him to be killed because he knew Yosie would never kill his brother. So Kinpira and appeared with Yosimune, and once more drew his sword against Man-yoo. However, these two were made to forget their enmity, and there was universal rejoicing.

Thus, while Kinpira's role in the play is not unimportant, he is not playing his usual central part. The only one of his companions to survive is Watanabe Tuna, here represented by Kunituna, and, of course, the family they serve is still that of the Minamoto. However Kinpira's boisterousness, hitherto the chief attraction of the plays in which he appeared, is now becoming relegated to something like comic relief, and he is finally prevailed upon to perform the most uncharacteristic act of becoming reconciled to his enemy. On the other hand, if one considers the attention paid in the play to the grief of the brothers when they are obliged to turn against each other, the maternal feelings of Yoriyosi's wife, and the religious interventions, is clear that, in Kyoto at least, it was no longer thought profitable to stage mere blood and thunder.

One or two other observations may well be made on this play. It demonstrates the kind of adaptation of an old theme that was to become increasingly important and shows a certain elaboration of plot and character. It is also generally thought to be the introducer into the puppet theatre and thence into kabuki of the theme of the loyal retainer substituting his own son for that of his lord and having him die in his place. This theme was to prove very fruitful in the construction of plots in which the conflict between loyalty to one's lord and love for one's family was the main ingredient, and which were to be the characteristic feature of plays of the eighteenth century.

The position in Oosaka is difficult to clarify. Activity was virtually nil in the early days, but it seems that a theatre was established there soon after the Edo fire of 1657. This theatre seems to have borne the name of Itoo Dewa no zyoo and to have flourished at least until 1665. Hardly anything definite is known of this person, but there is a great deal of speculation about him, a strong current of opinion existing that he was not one individual, but that his name was rather attached to the theatre, regardless of who was doing the chanting. However that may be, a series of playbooks bearing his name have survived and indicate the policy of the theatre, if not of any one chanter. The dominating influence is that of the Edo kinpira plays; the Oosaka audiences do not seem to have

had the more refined requirements of their Kyoto counterparts, and if anything the Dewa plays they saw are more uninhibited than those of Edo.

Another factor may have been operating here. It is clear, as has been mentioned earlier, that mechanical dolls played some part in the Osaka theatre, and it may very well be that the Dewa theatre made some use of them. Takeda Oomino zyoo had founded his theatre in 1662, and although it seems only to have shown mechanical dolls as a novelty and for their own sake, nevertheless in the competitive world of entertainment, they could not have been without their effect on the puppet theatre. They would have been very useful for showing monsters, transformations and perhaps scenes of carnage, and it is possible that already in the time of the Dewa theatre they were influencing the plays.

In short, and to sum up the kinpira period over the whole of Japan, the introduction by pupils of Zyoon of plays with violent themes, and Tanba's contribution of the 'four deva kings' and their successors Kinpira and Taketuna, started a revolution in puppet plays which was to sweep the country. The movement was assisted by the Edo fire of 1657, which dispersed many entertainers and brought them to Kyoto and Osaka. The degree of unity in the puppet theatre throughout Japan is reflected in a unified style of book illustration. It is not the object of this thesis to go into the artistic or stylistic aspect of these illustrations, but it is impossible to leave completely unnoticed the fierce





bulging eyes, broad nose, moustachios and beard with which Kinpira and the other stalwarts are portrayed, the spurtings of blood from wounds and decapitations, and the terrifying monsters that appear in them. The illustrations (S and T) from 'Kinpira Tengu mondoo' are typical (see also p. 129). The heads and faces are probably the only parts of the illustrations which have any close representational connection with the plays as seen on the stage. It is almost **certain** that the puppets did look like that, and the heads of warriors in existing puppet troupes still show some of the same characters.

(c) The post-kinpira period.

Edo did not make an important contribution to the development of puppet plays after the great period that ended in the 1670's. It is apparent, from the continual reprints of kinpira playbooks, that the popularity of their hero lasted into the eighteenth century. Tanba was followed, or joined, by his son Izumi, and the son at least was still active at the end of our period. Throughout the kinpira period, too, The 'flexible' chanters had not entirely disappeared. Tango died in 1662 or 1663, but his successors included not only Gosai, but also Hizen no zyoo, who had a theatre in Sakai-tyoo in the 1670's. Only one playbook of his has survived, and it may be assumed that he was overshadowed by the prosperity of the kinpira chanters; nevertheless his style, which, it seems, faithfully reflected that of his master, persisted and was to have a long history not only in zyooruri but also in kabuki performances, where a derivative, the Katoo style, survives until today (but only in one play).

However, there was one new development from the kinpira type of play, and that was the appearance of Tosa no syoozyoo. Keene (p.26) is in error in referring to him as Yamamoto Tosa no zyoo (or syoozyoo). Yamamoto Tosa no zyoo is another name of Yamamoto Kakudayuu, who worked in Oosaka, and who is best referred to as Kakudayuu. The Edo chanter's

first professional name was Naisyoo Tora no suke. In the late 1670's he had a theatre in Sakai-tyoo, and took the name of Tosa no syoozyoo. His son, Naisyoo Gendayuu, later took over his name, so that it is not possible entirely to separate one from the other, and their activity seems to have extended to the end of the century. The name Tora no suke implies a connection with the school of Zyooun and Wakatuki (Zy p.513 ff) produces evidence that Tosa no syoozyoo was the son of Naisyoo Iti no suke, a puppeteer in Zyooun's theatre, and that he was himself a puppeteer before turning to chanting. A great deal of his material has survived, and some fifty of his plays are known, but not necessarily in their entirety since he published selections of famous scenes from them. All this must imply a high level of popularity in Edo, but nowadays his work is not credited with any great artistic merit. His early work seems to have been a mere continuation of the kinpira plays, but he later tried to inject into it more lofty elements in order to cater for those who were tiring of the crudities of Tanba and his contemporaries. To some extent he seems to have copied the far more interesting movements that were going on in Oosaka and Kyooto, and ~~to~~ altered them to suit his audiences. But his style is monotonous, his plots disconnected, and his language dull; his lack of artistry is symptomatic of the unimportance into which Edo had fallen as a centre of puppet plays after the heyday of the kinpira period.

We may safely leave Edo, then, and go west, where in the post-kinpira period interaction between Kyoto and Osaka was greater than formerly, and it will be more convenient and less confusing if the two are treated together. There are three great names to be considered - Yamamoto Kakudayuu, Inoue Harima no zyoo and Uzi Kaga no zyoo. Of these the first two are virtually contemporary, but for the sake of clarity Kakudayuu will be taken first.

He originated in Osaka and probably learned his craft at the Dewa theatre in that city. He was known first as Yamamoto Kakudayuu, and in 1677 assumed the name of Yamamoto Sagami no zyoo. At the end of our period he changed his name to Yamamoto Tosa no zyoo. He is nevertheless quite a separate person from Tosa no syoozyoo, who is often known as Edo Tosa no syoozyoo to make the position clearer. It has become customary to call the style of the Edo chanter 'Tosa-busi' and that of Yamamoto Tosa no zyoo 'Kakudayuu-busi' using his early name. This practice will be followed in this thesis, and he will be referred to throughout as Kakudayuu.

He did not remain in Osaka but moved to Kyoto where he established a theatre in which he used the techniques he had acquired from the Dewa theatre. He made considerable use not only of mechanical dolls, but also of string puppets (see p. 113) and his plays abound in situations in which advantage could be taken of the special techniques that they made available to him. One of his most famous plays,

'Sinoda-zuma' - 'The wife from Sinoda' - (1674) is a tale of a fox who turns into a woman and becomes the devoted wife of the hero, bears him a child, and has to return to her former shape. The child becomes a master of divination and other magic lore, and is able to rid the emperor of some monsters who are troubling him. Throughout there runs the thread of a vendetta story and the most far-fetched passage is towards the end of the play when the hero is ambushed and cut to pieces, the various fragments of his body being borne off by birds of prey and scavenger dogs. The son works his magic and the animals and birds bring back the flesh and bones, which are once more joined together and the dead man restored to life.

In such a play the imaginative use of string puppets to represent the animals and birds, and perhaps to produce special effects like the reassembly of the hero's body, would be bound to arouse the audience's admiration. The plot, too, is of great intricacy, and takes up again the development that was foreshadowed in 'Hanaya' and the other o-ie soodoo pieces of pre-kinpira days. Many of the scenes display the old violence, but they are relieved by others showing the tenderness and affection which existed between the fox-wife and her husband and son.

'Sinoda-zuma' may be taken as typical of Kakudayuu's plays. The supernatural and fantastic is always a prominent ingredient, and in the end acquired too much importance, for

need to give full opportunities for the use of mechanical and other devices restricted the development of the other more worthwhile qualities of his work, namely the ability to treat scenes of emotion and human feeling.

Nevertheless he continued to be of importance even after the new zyooruri had become established, and had some famous pupils who set up schools of their own. Of these Okamoto Bun-ya, who worked in Oosaka in the 1680's, concentrated on the more emotional aspects of his master's art, to such an extent that his style acquired the nickname of 'Bun-ya no naki-busi' - the tearful Bun-ya style. It has already been noted that this has survived to the present day in Sado.

Inoue Harima no zyoo was Kyooto-born, possibly in 1632 and his first profession was that of bamboo blind maker to the court, when his name was Inoue Itiroobei. But his legend says that he had a natural talent for music and had an outstanding voice. He first studied noo singing and later worked at zyooruri under Toraya Gendayuu. His earliest known playbook is dated 1658, under the name of Yamato no syoozyoo. In the early 1660's he set up a theatre in Oosaka and performed there for the rest of his career. By 1674 he is known as Harima no zyoo. He is one of the few chanters whose death is recorded - it occurred when he was visiting Kyooto in 1685, after giving what is reported to be his only performance outside Oosaka.

As would be expected from the date of his earliest work, it is very much in the kinpira tradition. But it is

noteworthy that from the very start he by no means restricted himself to the stock characters of that tradition, but took his material from noo plays and earlier Japanese fiction. His position in the history of the puppet drama is difficult to assess. Of his importance there can be no doubt; it is certain that the predominance that Oosaka was to have in this entertainment from the end of the seventeenth century until the present day originated in him and his theatre, and, from the point of view of repertoire, he is estimated to have had a good hundred plays published. Tikamatu Monzaemon, who was to become the author of the new zyooruri at the end of the century, did some of his early work for Harima, who can thus be considered as one of the immediate ancestors of the new zyooruri, especially as Takemoto Gidayuu, the chanter who was to partner Tikamatu in producing plays of the new style, had his original training from Simizu Ribei, himself a pupil of Harima. One estimate of his work is that throughout his career he did not advance much farther from standard kinpira plays than a chanter like Kazusa in Kyoto. The small amount of progress he did make was in the way of introducing a certain number of new themes and giving a fuller development of scenes of human emotion. The texts of his plays are adequate if somewhat uninspired, but at the same time having sufficient variation of incident and emotion to give him opportunities of exhibiting his skill and versatility as a chanter, for which above all audiences admired him. Collections were published of the most popular scenes from

his plays, with the object mainly of serving as tutors for amateurs. The vogue for private performances may well have started at this period, and, as one may see in noo audiences today, any professional performance would have had in the audience an attentive band eager to improve their own renderings by imitating the master and following his performance in the book. The publishing by Tosa no syoozyoo of similar collections of scenes may indicate a spread of this vogue to Edo.

His theatre may possibly have employed string puppets (illustration N) but in general he seems to have avoided the exaggerations of the sort indulged in by the Dewa theatre in Oosaka and Kakudayuu in Kyooto. He was thus relieved of the necessity of continually introducing monsters and marvels and was able to concentrate on showing simpler but basically more realistic activity on his stage.

In this perhaps lies the clue to his importance in the history of zyooruri. By his excellent chanting he ensured that this side of the performance, rather than the puppets or the syamisen, remained dominant, and thus he worked along the central line of zyooruri development, the line which started with the old reciters of the Heike story, the line from which others have branched off from time to time into the dead ends of violence and mechanical ingenuity, but which was to go on itself without major deviation until the present day.

Last of the great names in the old zyooruri in the Kyoto/Cosaka area is Uzi Kaga no zyoo. He was born at Uzi in the province of Kii in 1636. In 1651 he was studying noo plays, but is believed to have abandoned complete devotion to these because of the virtual impossibility of being admitted into the more advanced mysteries without being a member of one of the actor families. The learning of zyooruri was not, and still is not, accompanied by such disabilities, and this is given as one reason why he chose it as his career; he is also said to have studied heikyoku, koowaka and other forms of vocal performance, but such a statement as this is commonly applied to zyooruri chanters. There is no reason to disbelieve it, but no reason either to consider it exceptional. His early training in noo, however, was to be significant. He studied the Harima style of zyooruri, but allegedly did so more or less by himself, in the country, and in spite of the opposition of his friends who thought that so fine a voice as his should be used in more worthy performances than that of the essentially popular zyooruri. It was more than twenty years before he brought himself to perform in public, first in Ise, where he had a puppet theatre, and then, in 1675, he set himself up in an establishment in the entertainment district in Kyoto. He named his theatre after Isezima Kunai, who was, of course, long since dead. It is possible, though there is no evidence on the point, that he had his first training in zyooruri from Kunai, and sought to honour his first master

by naming his theatre after him. He was called now Uzi Kadayuu. In 1677 he assumed the name of Uzi Kaga no zyoo by which he is generally known. In the same year he took into his employment one Goroobei, who was the son of a farmer in the village of Tennoozi, near Oosaka, and who had studied under Simizu Ribei. This Goroobei was to become Takemoto Gidayuu, the first chanter of the new zyooruri. He worked with Kaga as a chanter of second roles, until 1684 when, along with Takeya Syoobei, who had been a kind of manager for Kaga since his establishment in Kyooto, he went to Oosaka and set up an independent theatre. Tikamatu Monzaemon, who, together with his work for Harima, had also been writing for Kaga, went with Gidayuu and formed the partnership which was to prove so fruitful. Kaga made an attempt to retrieve the situation by going to Oosaka himself and performing there a play 'Koyomi' written for him by Saikaku, the novelist and poet. This was a failure, Saikaku wrote no more plays, and Kaga returned to Kyooto. There he stayed until his death in 1711, but after he had lost Tikamatu his impetus failed and the years after 1685 are completely overshadowed by Gidayuu.

The most significant element in the particular style of zyooruri chanted by Kaga is the influence of the noo. He was responsible for more than one development which can be derived from this source. The first of these to be considered will be that relating to the playbooks which he published. These were very different from those

of his predecessors. The traditional zyooruri playbook had the text of the play and drawings of the most exciting scenes in it. These did not show the scenes as staged, and in fact the book was no other than an illustrated story book, in which the text of the play was indeed to be found, but which could be read quite independently of the play, and presumably was so outside of the main centres where puppet plays were put on. The text did not, for example, make any attempt to record the rise and fall of pitch used by the chant or the different styles of reciting that came during the course of the play. Kaga, on the other hand, was familiar with the noo books of the time, and many of his zyooruri books were little more than copies of these. In them there were no illustrations. An attempt was made to represent the details of the performance by symbols at the side of the writing, which could serve as a guide to the vocal line for the benefit of either learners or the amateur performer, and the very style of writing changed from the cramped, angular hand of the old playbooks to a rounder style of calligraphy, with more space at the margins and between the lines, such as was used in the noo books. It is true that Harima had already produced collections of famous scenes from his plays, with musical notation, and in Edo Tosa no syoozyoo was doing the same, but Kaga carried the process further by releasing not only collections of famous scenes prepared in this way, but also published texts of whole plays in the

same style. The practice until the development of this notation had been for teachers to transmit their instruction purely orally. The new texts did not provide a complete guide to the performance of any particular play, but they were of considerable help as an aid to the memory.

From this time on, illustrated books were by no means unknown, but the standard pattern of zyooruri playbook became what Kaga made of it, the final development being into the large daihon, with what is intended to be clearly legible writing (it is certainly large and black) which is for use while reciting, not only by amateurs, but also by professionals.

The second way in which noo showed its influence was in the prefaces which Kaga wrote to some of his collections of pieces, such as 'Takeko-syuu' (1678) and 'Sitiku-syuu' (1697). In them he shows clearly that he considers that the chanting of zyooruri should derive from the noo play, and in stating this he makes use of similar terms to those used by Zeami in his writing on noo aesthetics. It is clear, however, that an attempt to reproduce the detail of his views would not be productive, since there is no survival of his style, and no information handed down about it in terms that give a precise idea of what it was like. The Gidayu style of zyooruri chanting is derived partly from the Kaga style, but there is no certainty about what particular aspect of Gidayu is derived from Kaga, and even if there were, it would not help much for although the former is still the standard chanting

accompanying the puppet play, there is no sure way of ascertaining how much the present style corresponds to that of the late seventeenth century. In fact performers of Gidayu today are proud of the fact that their art is more open to development than almost any other in Japan, since it does not have the usual hierarchical system of instructors at various grades, with certificates permitting the pupil to move on to new courses the content of which has hitherto been concealed from him, and over all a iemoto or head who not only sees to the general maintenance of standards, but also exerts a conservative influence by preventing new developments.

It follows therefore that we cannot know what Kaga means when he refers to his style, and it is better to say no more than that he endeavoured to apply the aesthetics of noo singing to his zyooruri chanting, or in other words to raise the level of zyooruri to that of the noo play, and perhaps to lessen the purely realistic content and increase the symbolic and allusive.

Much more certainly ascertainable is the third contribution of the noo - to the text of his plays. Many zyooruri in the past had used plots that had earlier been used in the noo; it will be remembered that Kazusa's 'Kinpira hoomon arasoi' was largely inspired by the noo play 'Manzyuu', and many other examples could be found. In them the connection is however confined to the borrowing of

the plot; the text is completely rewritten. Wakatuki (Zy p.486) says, however, that Kaga incorporated virtually whole noo plays into the texts of his zyooruri, and this not only once but several times. It has not been possible, owing to the ~~fact that~~ all the texts of the Kaga plays are not available, to check all Wakatuki's information, but an examination of the zyooruri 'Gaizin Yasima' indicates the extent of the borrowings. This play is concerned with Yositone's flight to the north after his quarrel with his brother, and includes the stories of three ~~former~~ pieces, 'Ataka' and 'Settai', both noo plays, and 'Takadati', originally a mai-no-hon. Throughout the section of the play that has the 'Ataka' story, short extracts from the noo play continually occur; more remarkable is the borrowing from 'Settai', which makes up section III of 'Gaizin Yasima'. Of the ten pages of this act in the printed edition, over nine are copied almost literally from the noo play. Whole pages have no difference at all, and where there are variations they consist only of the addition of a few phrases of explanation, or the carrying out of some small simplification to make the text more comprehensible to contemporary audiences.

Wakatuki lists in addition over thirty plays which each derive from one or more noo, quite apart from innumerable quotations and borrowings of smaller extent. One can only presume that Kaga recited the extensive borrowings in a more or less pure noo style, with a new accompaniment

for the syamisen, and the effect must have been to give his zyooruri a similar dignified appearance and sound to that of the noo, in great contrast to his predecessors.

Great though the influence of this early training was on him in causing him to incorporate so much from the noo into his plays, it was by no means the only source that he drew upon. In the history of zyooruri he rivals Gidayuu in versatility, and Gidayuu has long been famous for that very quality; in fact his success in bringing about the revolution in zyooruri chanting is often attributed almost wholly to it. Kaga included sections to be performed in the manner of 'Heike monogatari', koowaka, sekkyoo, kyoogen, lion dances, bon dances, songs of monkey trainers, boatmen's songs, to name only a few. All kinds of plays, too, were performed. Many first given by earlier chanters were rewritten, with far more complicated and literary plots. In fact many of those deriving from noo plays had been given earlier in a simpler form, often that of a play in the violent tradition, such as those showing adventures in the life of Yositone, like 'Tengu no dairi', dealing with his early days when he was sought by the Taira, 'Usiwaka sennin-giri' - the meeting with Benkei at the bridge at Fifth Street, and 'Kadode Yasima', a later exploit against the Taira. The effect of the return to the past in these versions of the plots was to depart from the violence and crudity characteristic of the contemporary or still very recent kinpira performances,

and to return to the restraint and polish of their treatment in the noo.

In the kabuki theatre of the period as played in Kyooto and Oosaka, there had arisen a popular type of play which was later to be given the name sewa zidai mono - historical love plays. From 1677 Kaga widened his field by introducing some of these into his repertoire. They deal with the loves of famous personages of the past, the earliest of them 'Sizuka Hoogaku no mai' (1677) having Yositone's famous mistress as its heroine. In these Kaga shows a realism and an insight into human character which is lacking in his noo-derivatives, and which foreshadows the sewa mono - contemporary love dramas - that were to be the brightest achievement of the collaboration between Gidayuu and Tikamatsu.

Kaga's role in the development of zyooruri was to raise it from its former essentially popular status of entertainment for the masses, with no artistic standards, seeking only to excite, frighten, cause to weep sentimental tears or laugh at childish humour, and to give it an aesthetic value of its own. He was not alone in this, for Harima, too, in spite of his limited range of subject matter, had worked in the same direction. One effect of this changing emphasis which was to show itself in Kyooto and Oosaka was the improvement in the construction of the plays. This improvement went on into the period of the new zyooruri and in our period we see only its beginning. It is linked

with the change which occurred in the 1670's from plays of six sections or acts (dan) to those of five. Speculation on why the old form had usually six would be largely in vain; it is difficult to take seriously the contention that it was derived from the twelve parts of the Zyooruri story, two of these parts forming each dan, and it is much more likely that practical considerations of the desirable space of time between intervals, and the duration of the whole play, and even the question of the length and make-up of the playbooks, caused the traditional length and division to arise.

Just how deliberate a change this was is not clear, but it certainly took place, and was another factor in bringing zyooruri in line with the noo. The traditional performances during a noo programme had been of five plays, in a set order, with comic interludes. One dan of a zyooruri play approximated in length to a noo play, and the custom of having comic interludes between the acts has already been noted; so a zyooruri play, when performed in full, was like a whole noo programme, although this does not mean that the succession of dan of such a play bears any relation to the succession of types of the noo.

A more interesting connection which arises is that of the construction of the plays. Noo plays can often be divided into three sections, named zyo, ha, kyuu, corresponding to introduction, development, and climax,

and the development section can again be divided into the same three, to produce a five-fold division. This type of analysis is not restricted, of course to the Japanese noo play; a division into three or five acts is common in the western drama, possibly for the same reason. The consequence of (or reason for, it is difficult to decide which) the new division of zyooruri plays into five dan, then, was that the dramatic force of the play was thereby much enhanced. The change may be stated in other terms as a transformation from the episodic style of a historical narrative, basically the same in the main period of old zyooruri as in its forbear, 'Heike monogatari', to a unified dramatic form. This change is fundamental, and contributed greatly to the elevation of zyooruri from an often vulgar, melodramatic, puppet show, to a great art form that it was destined to become.

Finally it will be of interest to consider to what extent Kaga can be truly considered as belonging to the old zyooruri. Harima with his traditional repertoire and Kakudayuu with his involvement with mechanical puppetry certainly do, but it has been shown that Kaga's work has most of the elements that were to become characteristic of the new zyooruri. These include variety of style, dramatic unity, literary quality and realistic characterisation. It is demonstrable that all these, which are often attributed to Gidayuu and Tikamatu as originators, already exist in Kaga's work. His innovations could well have won him the title of

founder of a new drama but for the fact that Gidayuu overshadowed him and relegated him to the position of the last of the old chanters. It would be fairer to assign to him the status of being the connecting link between old and new. He afforded the means by which the old habits were first broken, he brought about a partial revolution, so that the changes introduced by Gidayuu did not have to be so fundamental. Whether one man alone could have carried out the whole operation it is impossible to say. If one tries to estimate why Kaga was unable to do it, the real cause of his inability seems to have been a certain deficiency as a practical performer. Almost certainly he was too preoccupied with theoretical considerations about what a play should be, that it should be like a noo play, that the text should have literary value. His skill as a performer was by no means negligible, but when a born entertainer like Gidayuu appeared on the scene, he was unable to compete successfully with him. Gidayuu, it might be said, had all the luck. He had benefited from instruction in the schools of Harima and Kaga and was able to take over all their art. The old styles had been shown out of date, and he had no resistance to overcome from that side. When he left Kaga he took Tikamatu with him. In the above discussion of his work, Kaga has been deliberately given the responsibility for his plays in spite of the fact that Tikamatu wrote many of them. This is because it seems sure that Kaga was the more important

of the two; it was Kaga that brought into the partnership his knowledge of the noo, it was probably Kaga that developed the zidai-sewa mono, it was Kaga, in short, that trained Tikamatu as a writer. Gidayuu seems to have taken him away just when he had finished his apprenticeship, and the impression remains that in the new partnership Tikamatu provided not only the words, but also the inspiration for them. This Gidayuu was fortunate again in not having to supervise both writing and chanting, but was able to concentrate on the latter. He seems to have brought an ability to combine an understanding of what the audiences would like with an integrity that prevented a relapse into vulgarity. This ability is reflected in what was presumably his decision to use hand puppets. In this he followed the practice of Harima, and ensured that the new zyooruri would rely less on special effects, and would use dolls that could be made to do most things a human being could do, but not much more. In this Gidayuu shows his superiority over Kaga, for the latter, in an effort either to compete with Kakudayuu in Kyoto, or to recover from Gidayuu's departure, was not above the use of mechanical and string dolls.

We do not know whether, in 1685, Gidayuu seemed more important than Kaga. After all, one worked in Kyoto and the other in Osaka, and in spite of the increasing interaction between the two cities, not many poorer people from Kyoto could have afforded to go to Osaka just to

hear Gidayuu; it might not have appeared at the time that there was any competition between them. Gidayuu's chanting was, however, the one to survive, and the history of the puppet play, the active development of which had started in Kyoto, then moved to the new audiences of Edo, then back to Kyoto, with a new base in Osaka, henceforward is the history of the Gidayuu style, centred in Osaka.

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- (Note 1. All books in Japanese in this list are published in Tokyo.
- NNote 2. Works indicated by the sign + form a bibliography for the study of old zyooruri.)

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